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**Case Marking in Spanish Reverse Psychological verbs:  
A Lexical Semantic Perspective**

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**Case Marking in Spanish Reverse Psychological verbs:**

**A Lexical Semantic Perspective**

**by**

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## **Dedication**

For amma, appa, Nive, and Sulochana patti, with love.

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# **Case Marking in Spanish Reverse Psychological verbs: A Lexical Semantic Perspective**

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The University of Texas at Austin, 2015

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This dissertation is a lexical semantic study of case marking in Spanish reverse psychological verbs, which exhibit an alternation in dative-accusative case marking. Previous accounts propose a strong correlation between case marking and eventualities (Parodi & Luján 2000, Ackerman & Moore 2001). Through the use of corpus data and native speaker judgments, I first demonstrate that there is a correlation between stative reverse psychological predicates and dative case marking, while eventive reverse psychological predicates allow accusative or dative experiencers. In my alternative proposal, I postulate that case marking alternation can be accounted for by analyzing reverse psychological verbs based on whether they have two components of transitivity — agentivity and affectedness of the object. I propose that accusative case marking in reverse psychological verbs is unspecified for agentivity and carries an entailment of affectedness of the object, whereas dative case marking entails a weakening or lack of agentivity and is unspecified for affectedness of the object. As predicted by the Transitivity Hypothesis (Hopper & Thompson 1980) the findings here corroborate that



the accusative vs. dative experiencer case-marking reflects the relatively higher vs. lower transitivity respectively of a given reverse psychological predicate. In two reverse psychological verb clauses that differ, the features agentivity, affectedness, and case marking co-vary in the same direction. If one clause has lower transitivity features, such as lack of agentivity, and no affectedness of the object, then the case marking also co-varies in the same direction with dative case marking and vice versa. I also claim that reverse psychological verbs that have higher transitivity are causatives. As part of making this case, I provide linguistic diagnostics to distinguish between states and events, and to identify agentivity, volitionality, and affectedness. The analysis presented here contributes to cross-linguistic and theoretical work on transitivity and causation.

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## Chapter 1: Introduction

This dissertation deals with the lexical semantics of psychological verbs (psych verbs, henceforth) in Spanish in relation to case marking of their arguments. Psych verbs are verbs such as *amar* ‘to love’, *odiar* ‘to hate’, *temer* ‘to fear’, *asustar* ‘to frighten’, *placer* ‘to please’, *molestar* ‘to bother’, *sorprender* ‘to surprise’, etc., that describe emotions and mental states. The argument experiencing the emotion or mental state is referred to as the experiencer and the argument causing or evoking the mental state is referred to as the stimulus.<sup>1</sup> More specifically this dissertation deals with accusative/dative case marking in the so-called REVERSE-PSYCH VERBS, such as *asustar* ‘to frighten’, *placer* ‘to please’, *molestar* ‘to bother’, *sorprender* ‘to surprise’, in which the argument roles are reversed when compared with the canonical psych verbs, such as *amar* ‘to love’, *odiar* ‘to hate’. In Spanish, in reverse-psych verbs the experiencer argument can be expressed as a dative clitic *le* or an accusative clitic *lo* as seen in (1) and (2) respectively.<sup>2</sup>

- (1) *Le asustan las arañas.*  
CL.DAT scare.3PL the spiders  
‘Spiders scare him.’

- (2) *Las arañas lo asustan.*  
the spiders CL.ACC scare.3PL  
‘The spiders scare him.’

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<sup>1</sup> The term *theme* is also commonly used instead of *stimulus*.

<sup>2</sup> For convenience and consistency, all clitics are indicated in the gloss as CL. They are all 3rd person, unless otherwise indicated in the gloss. The singular dative clitic is *le*, while the plural one is *les*. The dative clitics do not mark gender. The singular accusative clitic is *lo* (masculine) and *la* (feminine), while the plural ones are *los* (masculine) and *las* (feminine).

The main claim made in the previous literature (Parodi & Luján 2000, Ackerman & Moore 2001) is that the dative or accusative case marking depends on the eventuality, state, or event expressed by the sentence.<sup>3</sup> I discuss this in more detail in Section 1.2.1. However, before I discuss the literature on case marking, I first review the traditional classifications of psych verbs in Romance languages and English in Section 1.1. In Section 1.2, I present the literature on case marking in reverse-psych verbs. Section 1.3 discusses word order in reverse-psych verbs. Section 1.4 describes the data sources and methodology used in this dissertation. Finally, in Section 1.5, I explain the organization of the dissertation.

## 1.1 CLASSES OF PSYCH VERBS

Traditionally psych verbs have been classified into two main groups based on whether the experiencer is selected as the subject or the object: the Subj(ect)Exp(eriencer) group and the Obj(ect)Exp(eriencer) group, respectively (Belletti & Rizzi 1988, Grimshaw 1990, Croft 1993, Pesetsky 1995, Levin & Rappaport Hovav 2005).<sup>4</sup> For example, *fear* is a SubjExp verb, as illustrated in (3), where the experiencer *my children* is selected as the subject and the stimulus *thunderstorms* as the object.

- (3) My children fear thunderstorms. (Levin & Rappaport Hovav 2005, 5a, p.14)

---

<sup>3</sup> Throughout the dissertation I will be using examples from two different corpora as well as those provided by informants. Examples from the *Corpus de Referencia de Español Actual* are marked CREA, examples from the *Corpus de Español* are marked CdE, examples from other authors are referenced, and all examples that are not referenced are from my informants.

<sup>4</sup> For English, there have been further sub-classifications based on agency and the eventuality type (Di Desidero 1993, Arad 1998). For a detailed discussion see Chapter 3.

In (4), for example, *frighten* is an ObjExp verb where the stimulus *thunderstorms* is selected as the subject and the experiencer *my children* as the object.

- (4) Thunderstorms frighten my children.

(Levin & Rappaport Hovav 2005, 5b, p.14)

ObjExp verbs are also called reverse psychological verbs since the argument roles are reversed when compared with SubjExp verbs. Based on the properties of this grouping of SubjExp and ObjExp, and additionally based on case marking, in most Romance languages there are three classes of psych verbs. Italian, for example, has the *temere* ‘to fear’, *piacere* ‘to please’ and *preoccupare* ‘to worry’ classes as illustrated in (5)-(7) (Burzio 1986, Belletti & Rizzi 1988).<sup>5</sup>

- (5) *Gianni teme questo.*  
Gianni.NOM fear.3SG this.ACC  
‘Gianni fears this.’

- (6) *A Gianni piace questo.*  
to Gianni.DAT please.3SG this.NOM  
‘This pleases Gianni.’

- (7) *Esto preoccupa Gianni.*  
This.NOM worry.3SG Gianni.ACC  
‘This worries Gianni.’ (Adapted from Belletti & Rizzi 1988, 1-3, p. 291)

The *temere* ‘to fear’ class in (5) falls under the SubjExp group: the experiencer *Gianni* is the subject and the stimulus *questo* ‘this’ is the object. Note that with the *piacere* ‘to please’ class in (6) falls under the ObjExp group: the stimulus *questo* ‘this’ is the subject

---

<sup>5</sup> Belletti & Rizzi (1988) do not provide glosses for the examples in (5)-(7). They only provide the translations given on the third line here. The glosses presented on the second line are mine.

and the experiencer *Gianni* is the object in dative case.<sup>6</sup> The *preoccupare* ‘to worry’ class in (7) also falls under the ObjExp class: the stimulus *questo* ‘this’ is the subject and the experiencer *Gianni* is the object in accusative case. In other words, the ObjExp verbs in Italian are further divided into two classes: the *piacere* ‘to please’ class and the *preoccupare* ‘to worry’ class.

French is similar to Italian, wherein there are three psych verb classes: *adorer* ‘to adore’, *plaisir* ‘to please’, and *amuser* ‘to amuse’, illustrated in (8)-(10) and corresponding to the three Italian classes above (Legendre 1989, Herschensohn 1992).<sup>7</sup>

- (8) *Pierre adore les femmes/ Pierre les adore.*  
 Pierre.NOM adore.3SG the women.ACC Pierre.NOM CL.ACC  
 adore.3SG  
 ‘Peter adores women/Peter loves them.’
- (9) *Les femmes plaisent a Pierre/ Les femmes lui plaisent.*  
 the women.NOM please.3PL to Pierre.DAT the women.NOM  
 CL.DAT please.3PL  
 ‘Women are pleasing to Peter/ Women are pleasing to him.’
- (10) *Les femmes amusent Pierre/ Les femmes l’amusent.*  
 the women.NOM amuse.3PL Pierre.ACC the women.NOM  
 CL.ACC amuse.3PL  
 ‘Women amuse Peter/ Women amuse him.’ (Legendre 1989, 1a-c, p.752)

<sup>6</sup> I remain non-committal as to whether the experiencer *Gianni* in (5) is a direct object or an indirect object, or whether it has some other grammatical function. For the sake of simplicity I use the term “object” here.

<sup>7</sup> Legendre (1989) does not provide glosses for the examples in (8)-(10). She only provides the translations given on the third line here. The glosses presented on the second line are mine.



The *adorer* ‘to adore’ class in (8) falls under the SubjExp group and corresponds to the Italian *temere* ‘to fear’ class. The experiencer *Pierre* is the subject and the stimulus *les femmes* ‘the women’ is the object. The *plaiser* ‘to please’ class in (9) falls under the ObjExp group and corresponds to the Italian *piacere* ‘to please’ class. The stimulus *les femmes* ‘the women’ is the subject and the experiencer *Pierre* is the dative object. The *amuser* ‘to amuse’ class in (10) falls under the ObjExp group and corresponds to the Italian *preoccupare* ‘to worry’ class. The stimulus *les femmes* ‘the women’ is the subject and the experiencer *Pierre* is the accusative object (Herschensohn 1992, Legendre 1993).

The case is in fact similar in English, which also has three main psych verb classes, namely the *fear*-type, *appeal to*-type and *frighten*-type (Di Desidero 1993, Arad 1998), as illustrated in (11)-(13).

- (11) Nina fears/likes/adores this dog. (Arad 1998, 1a, p.2)
- (12) The paintings appeal to Nina. (My informants)
- (13) This dog frightens/disgusts/amuses Nina. (Arad 1998, 1a, p.2)

The English psych verb classes in (11) and (13) correlate to the Italian *temere* ‘to fear’ and *preoccupare* ‘to worry’ classes, respectively (Di Desidero 1993, Arad 1998), and the *appeal to* class in (12) correlates to the Italian *piacere* ‘to please’ class (Levin 1993).

While Spanish psych verbs are also traditionally divided into three classes, they exhibit an additional phenomenon that is unique to Spanish. The classification is as seen in (14): Class I verbs like *temer* ‘to fear’, Class II verbs like *gustar* ‘to like/please’, and Class III verbs like *molestar* ‘to bother’ (Parodi & Luján 2000, Ackerman & Moore

2001; *inter alia*).<sup>8</sup> I use this terminology, Class I, Class II, and Class III verbs, to refer to the three classes throughout the dissertation.<sup>9</sup>

- (14) **Class I:** e.g., *temer* ‘to fear’, *amar* ‘to love’, *odiar* ‘to hate’  
**Class II:** e.g., *gustar* ‘to like/please’, *encantar* ‘to really like’, *apetecer* ‘to fancy’  
**Class III:** e.g., *molestar* ‘to bother’, *sorprender* ‘to surprise’, *asustar* ‘to frighten’

Class I verbs fall under the SubjExp group: in (15), the experiencer *Juan* is the subject and the stimulus *las arañas* ‘the spiders’ is the object. Class II verbs fall under the ObjExp group: in (16), the stimulus *las arañas* ‘the spiders’ is the subject and the experiencer is the object, expressed here as the dative clitic *le*.

- (15) *Juan odia las arañas.*  
 Juan.NOM hate.3SG the spiders  
 ‘Juan hates spiders.’
- (16) *Le gustan/molestan las arañas.*  
 CL.DAT please/bother.3PL the spiders  
 ‘The spiders please/bother him.’

Recall that in Italian, French, and English, the difference between the two ObjExp classes of verbs, Class II and Class III verbs, is that they select different cases for the object: Class II selects only dative and Class III only accusative case. However, in Spanish,

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<sup>8</sup> There exist also psych verbs that can occur with a preposition like *gustar de*, *gozar de*, *anhelar por*, *ansiar por*, *recelar de* etc., which I put aside in this dissertation. In these, the verb is similar to Class I *temer* verbs since the experiencer is the subject. They are different from Class I *temer* verbs since the stimulus is not an object but a prepositional complement. See Whitley (1995), Vanhoe (2002) for more information on the topic.

<sup>9</sup> For a list of Class II and Class III r-psych verbs see Appendix A. Also, Class I psych verbs (e.g., *temer* ‘to fear’, *amar* ‘to love’, *odiar* ‘to hate’) are not reverse-psych verbs and have thus been put aside in this dissertation.

Class II verbs select only dative case for the object while Class III verbs can select both dative and accusative case for the experiencer argument, as seen in (17) and (18), respectively.

- (17) *Le molestan las arañas.*  
 CL.DAT bother.3PL the spiders  
 ‘The spiders bother him.’

- (18) *Las arañas lo molestan.*  
 the spiders CL.ACC bother.3PL  
 ‘The spiders bother him.’

Spanish Class III verbs, thus, form a unique group within Romance languages because they allow for both the dative and the accusative case for their experiencers, where the stimulus *las arañas* ‘the spiders’ is the subject and the experiencer can be either a dative clitic ‘*le*’ or an accusative clitic ‘*lo*’.<sup>10</sup> These Spanish Class III verbs do not exist in Italian, French, nor English.<sup>11</sup>

## 1.2 CASE MARKING AND THE LEXICAL ENTRY OF SPANISH R-PSYCH VERBS

Of the three classes of Spanish psych verbs, this dissertation only deals with Class II (e.g., *gustar* ‘to like/please’ or *encantar* ‘to really like’) and Class III verbs (e.g., *molestar* ‘to bother’ or *sorprender* ‘to surprise’). Both these classes are ObjExp or reverse-psychological verbs (r-psych verbs, henceforth).

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<sup>10</sup> It is only when the experiencer argument is instantiated overtly as a 3<sup>rd</sup>-person singular or plural clitic that case can be ascertained. See Strozer (1976), Jaeggli (1982), (1986), Suñer (1988), Franco (1991), Demonte (1995), Blean (1999), Cuervo (2003), and Nishida (2015).

<sup>11</sup> For a tabular representation of the classes of psych verbs in these languages see Appendix B.

### 1.2.1 Previous analyses

There are two issues that have been discussed in the past literature with regard to r-psych verbs: (i) what derives the experiencer case marking in them, and (ii) how they are lexically represented. As regards the issue of case marking, research on Spanish r-psych verbs (Parodi and Luján 2000, Ackerman and Moore 2001) has argued that case marking depends on the type of eventuality denoted by the sentence. If the sentence is stative, then the experiencer argument is realized as dative and the accusative is ungrammatical, as shown in (19). When the sentence is eventive, then the experiencer argument is realized as accusative and the dative is ungrammatical, as shown in (20).

- (19) *El ruido le /(\*la) molestó/preocupó/afectó.*  
the noise bothered /worried/affected him/her-DAT (all his/her life)  
'The noise bothered/worried/affected him/her.'

- (20) *El ruido la /(\*le) molestó/preocupó/afectó.*  
the noise bothered /worried/affected him/her-ACC (yesterday)  
'The noise bothered/worried/affected him/her.'

(Parodi & Luján 2000, 5a and 5b, p.3)

Additionally, both Parodi & Luján (2000) and Ackerman & Moore (2001) claim that a non-affected experiencer is realized as dative, and thus the experiencer in (19) is not affected. An affected experiencer is realized as accusative, and thus the experiencer in (20) is affected. There are two problems with the previous proposals.<sup>12</sup> First, there are instances where an eventive sentence selects the dative case for the experiencer. As shown in (21), an example from the *Corpus de Referencia del Español Actual* (CREA,

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<sup>12</sup> For a detailed summary and critique of previous literature see Chapter 2.

henceforth), the r-psych verb used is *sorprender* ‘to surprise’, and the sentence is eventive since it is reporting the moment of his death and an event that occurs, yet the experiencer is dative and not accusative, as previous proposals would predict.

- (21) ...*alli le sorprendió la muerte.*  
 there CL.DAT surprised.3SG the death  
 ‘there death surprised him.’ (CREA)

Second, while previous literature brings up the notion of affectedness, it fails to define it in precise linguistic terms or to provide tests for it, an important prerequisite for justifying the claim that it is implicated in case alternations with r-psych verbs. In general, however, the research conducted in the past on these issues with Spanish r-psych verbs is unable to account for the variation seen in the corpus data I present in later chapters in this dissertation.<sup>13</sup> The question of how these verbs are represented lexically has been discussed specifically by Ackerman & Moore (2001) (A&M, henceforth) who claim that the accusative/dative case alternation with some r-psych verbs arises due to the lexicalization constraint they posit in (22).

- (22) PARADIGMATIC ARGUMENT SELECTION PRINCIPLE  
 If P(arg1 and arg2) is a predicate of class X, where arg1 is associated with the indirect object function, then the lexicon also contains P’(arg1, arg2’) where arg2 and arg2’ have identical entailment sets, except that arg2’ has an additional entailment of UNDERGOES CHANGE OF STATE; arg2’ is associated with the direct object grammatical function.  
 (A&M 2001, 15, p.68)

The Paradigmatic Argument Selection Principle states that if there is a verb that selects a dative experiencer, then a variant of that verb should exist that also selects an accusative

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<sup>13</sup> For more information on the corpus data see Section 1.4.

experiencer, with a concomitant additional entailment of change-of-state for the object. A&M argue that the verb is then expressed in the lexicon as having two related lexical entries — *molestar<sub>a</sub>* and *molestar<sub>b</sub>* for the verb *molestar* ‘to bother’, the first selecting the dative and the second the accusative, as formulated in (23) — and these express differences in interpretation regarding change of state (with all other entailments being equal, e.g., the subject is a causer and the experiencer is sentient):

(23)		Causer (PA)	Sentient (PA)	
	<i>molestar<sub>a</sub></i>	< x <sub>1</sub>	x <sub>2</sub>	>
		SUBJ	IO	
		Causer (PA)	Sentient (PA) Change of state (PP)	
	<i>molestar<sub>b</sub></i>	< x <sub>1</sub>	x <sub>2</sub>	>
		SUBJ	DO	(A&M 2001, p. 67)

Thus the fact that there is an argument in (23) *molestar<sub>a</sub>* ‘to bother’ taking an indirect object with the agent proto-role property of sentience, then by the Paradigmatic Selection Principle, there exists *molestar<sub>b</sub>* that also has two arguments, one of which has the agent proto-role property of sentience and additionally has the patient proto-role property of ‘change of state’ and is an accusative object.

The Paradigmatic Selection Principle, however, does not make the right predictions. It predicts that all r-psych verbs that select dative experiencers can select an accusative experiencer as well. While that may be the case with Class III verbs (e.g., *molestar* ‘to bother’, *sorprender* ‘to surprise’), it does not hold for Class II verbs (e.g., *gustar* ‘to like/please’, *encantar* ‘to really like’), since these verbs only allow for a dative

experiencer and an accusative experiencer with these verbs would be ungrammatical. Thus the previous analyses that maintain that states occur with dative experiencers and events with accusative experiencers fail to account for all the data.

Other studies on Spanish r-psych verbs have approached the topic on the basis of transitivity (Vázquez Rozas 2006, Miglio *et al* 2013). Vázquez Rozas (2006) demonstrates that, in general, higher transitivity correlates with the accusative case marking in Spanish r-psych verbs. Miglio *et al* (2013), in a statistical frequency study using corpus data, identify several factors (animacy, syntactic shape of the stimulus, verb tense and mood, regional differences, genres and random effect for authors and verbs) that may predict case marking in Spanish r-psych verbs. These studies on transitivity, however, only identify transitivity as a key factor in case marking, but they do not discuss the specific principles underlying the correlation. My goal in this study is to analyze the components of transitivity in Spanish r-psych verbs and to propose the principles of the correlation between transitivity and case marking in them.

### **1.2.2 Alternative proposal: Thesis**

In this dissertation, I present a lexical semantic analysis of case marking in Spanish reverse-psych verb sentences. I agree with past proposals that there is a semantic correlation between case and eventuality in r-psych verbs. However, based on evidence from corpus data, I demonstrate that instead of a binary correlation there is only a correlation between statives and dative case marking. In other words, if a sentence is stative it will always have a dative experiencer, but there is no correlation between events

and accusative case marked experiencer. Instead, eventive predicates can have not only accusative but also dative case marked experiencers. Furthermore, for my analysis I adopt two components of transitivity (Hopper & Thompson 1980) — agentivity, volitionality, and affectedness of object — and claim that the alternation between accusative and dative case marking depends on these three factors. I will show that accusative case marking in r-psych verbs encodes affectedness and tends to specify for agentivity, while dative case marking encodes a weakening or lack of agentivity and is unspecified for affectedness. Additionally, I claim that r-psych verbs that can have accusative case marking are highly transitive causative verbs since they share many properties with such verbs, including agentivity, affectedness, word order, and causative/inchoative alternations, among many others.<sup>14</sup>

In this dissertation, I do not propose a detailed account of the second issue of what exactly the lexical entry for r-psych verbs should look like. Nevertheless, based on my findings, any r-psych verb that can select an accusative experiencer can select a dative one too. In other words, all r-psych verbs can have dative experiencers while only some can select for accusative experiencers. My findings also indicate that all Class III r-psych verbs that alternate exhibit a systematic polysemy between a lower transitive predicate with dative experiencer and a higher transitive predicate with an accusative experiencer.

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<sup>14</sup> This topic is addressed in more detail in Chapter 5.



### 1.3 NOTES ON WORD ORDER, LEXICAL OBJECTS, AND CLITIC DOUBLING

In this dissertation, I will only be considering sentences like (24) and (25), where the experiencer is realized as a case marked clitic, dative, or accusative, respectively.<sup>15</sup>

- (24) *Le           apeteció       helado.*  
 CL.DAT   felt.like.3SG ice-cream  
 ‘He felt like (having) ice-cream.’ (CREA)

- (25) *Los   novios       de   mi   prima   la       agobiaron*  
 the   boyfriends of   my   cousin CL.ACC harassed.3PL  
*telefónicamente desde toda la república.*  
 by-telephone   since all   the   republic  
 ‘My cousin’s boyfriends overwhelmed/harassed her by telephone from all over the republic.’ (CdE)

However, in relation to information structure, the dative case marked r-psych verb sentences and their accusative case marked counterparts show distinctively different word orders with respect to how the two nominal arguments are placed in the sentence. Therefore, in this section, I will describe some basic properties of r-psych verb sentences regarding word order and object realization issues. These facts do not directly affect case marking; nevertheless, the description of word order will facilitate the comprehension of the data and discussions presented in later chapters.

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<sup>15</sup> I will also be considering sentences with clitic doubling such as the (i), where the experiencer argument *el agricultor* ‘the farmer’ is clitic doubled with the dative clitic *le*. I discuss this shortly.

- (i) *...al       agricultor       le       interesa       un   herbicida.*  
 to-the   farmer       CL.DAT   interest.3SG   a   herbicide  
 ‘... a herbicide interests the farmer.’ (CREA)

The word order in r-psych verb constructions, especially with a dative argument, has been of interest to various researchers (Fernandez-Soriano 1999, Gutierrez Bravo 2005; *inter alia*). The key difference is the post-verbal and pre-verbal position of the subject in r-psych verb sentences. The canonical word order for r-psych verbs with a dative argument is with the dative expressed as a lexical argument doubled by a clitic, and with a post-verbal subject, as seen in (26), where the subject is *un herbicida* ‘a herbicide’.

- (26) ...*al agricultor le interesa un herbicida.*  
to-the farmer CL.DAT interest.3SG a herbicide  
‘... a herbicide interests the farmer.’ (CREA)

In (26), the sentence has sentential focus (Lambrecht 1994, Gutiérrez-Bravo 2005; *inter alia*), which means that the sentence does not carry any pragmatic presupposition, and the focus is on the argument and the predicate as a whole. Note that the clitic doubling is obligatory in Spanish when there is a lexical dative argument in the preverbal position, as is the case in (26) where *al agricultor* is the lexical dative argument. The information structure is different for r-psych verbs when the dative argument is only expressed as a clitic, and not as a lexical argument, with a post-verbal subject, as shown in (27), where the subject is *el lenguaje de altos vuelos* ‘high flown language’.

- (27) ...*le confundía el lenguaje de altos vuelos.*  
CL.DAT confused.3SG the language of high flights  
‘...high flown languages confused her.’ (CREA)

In (27), which lacks the lexical dative, the sentence has argument focus and the focus is likely to fall on the nominative argument *el lenguaje de altos vuelos* ‘high flown language’. Another position that the subject can be in is the pre-verbal position. In (28), the dative argument is expressed as a lexical argument and a clitic in a post-verbal position, with a pre-verbal subject where the subject is *Éstos* ‘These’.

- (28) *Éstos también le interesaron a Gödel, a Einstein*  
 these also CL.DAT interested.3PL to Gödel to Einstein  
*y a otros grandes pensadores.*  
 and to other great thinkers  
 ‘These also interested Gödel, Einstein and other great thinkers.’ (CREA)

Here the sentence is likely to have argument focus with the focus falling on the dative argument *a Gödel, a Einstein y a otros grandes pensadores* ‘Gödel, Einstein and other great thinkers’.

Before discussing word order in r-psych verb sentences with an accusative argument, it is important to clarify some facts about clitic doubling with accusative arguments. In (29) is a sentence with the transitive verb *visitar* ‘visit’, with a nominative subject *Pedro* and an accusative object *su padre* ‘his father’.<sup>16</sup>

- (29) *Pedro visitó a su padre*  
 Pedro visited.3SG to his father  
 ‘Pedro visited his father.’

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<sup>16</sup> Note that there is an *a* in front of the object in (29) because Spanish is a differential object marking (DOM) language. That is, direct objects that are human and specific require a special marker *a* in Spanish.

In (29), with a non pronominal lexical object, clitic doubling is not allowed in Mexican Spanish (Suñer 1988, Bleam 1999; *inter alia*). Similarly, in r-psych verb sentences with a non pronominal lexical object, as seen in (30), clitic doubling is not allowed.

- (30) *El gato molestó a Olga.*  
 the car bothered.3SG to Olga  
 ‘The cat bothered Olga.’

The case of the lexical object *Olga* is not clear. Therefore, I do not consider sentences such as these in this dissertation. Instead I will present sentences with an explicit accusative or dative clitic in them. Thus, in this context, for an accusative case marked r-psych verb sentence with an explicit accusative clitic, the canonical word order is with a pre-verbal subject, as shown in (31), where the subject is *los novios de mi prima* ‘my cousin’s boyfriends’.

- (31) *Los novios de mi prima la agobiaron*  
 the boyfriends of my cousin CL.ACC harassed.3PL  
*telefónicamente desde toda la república.*  
 by-telephone from all the republic  
 ‘My cousin’s boyfriends overwhelmed/harassed her by telephone from all over the republic.’  
 (CdE)

In (31) the accusative clitic refers to the previously mentioned argument *mi prima* ‘my cousin’ that appears in the subject clause of the same sentence and thus the sentence is likely to have sentential focus. In contrast, the sentence in (32) has a post-verbal subject and does not have sentential focus. It is likely that the sentence has argument focus with the focus falling on the subject *la muerte* ‘the death’. Note that in (32) while it may seem

that there is clitic doubling with the accusative, this is actually clitic left dislocation (CLLD) which is allowed and not clitic doubling (Rizzi 1986, Jaeggli 1986, Suñer 1998).

- (32) *Obregón y Calles al fin, se quedaron solos.*  
 Obregón and Calles to-the end CL.REFL were-left.3PL alone  
*A uno lo sorprendería la muerte; al otro,*  
 to one CL.DAT would-surprise.3SG the death to-the other  
*el destierro.*  
 the exile  
 ‘Obregón and Calles at the end, were left all alone. One would be surprised  
 by death; the other, by exile.’ (CREA)

Thus word order in r-psych verb predicates is contingent on information structure. As far as case marking is concerned, it is not affected by word order, as shown in (33)-(34), where the different word orders and their respective information structures do not result in a change in the accusative case marking (expressed by the clitic *lo*), and the truth-conditional content remains the same.

- (33) *El locutor hispano lo aburría profundamente.*  
 the announcer hispanic CL.ACC bored.3SG profoundly  
 ‘The hispanic announcer profoundly bored him.’ (CREA)
- (34) *Lo aburría profundamente el locutor hispano.*  
 CL.ACC bored.3SG profoundly the announcer hispanic  
 ‘The hispanic announcer profoundly bored him.’

Again, as shown in (35)-(36), the different word orders and their respective information structures do not result in a change in the dative case marking (expressed by the clitic *le*), and the truth-conditional content remains the same.

(35) *A Graham le sorprendió la petición.*  
 to Graham CL.DAT surprised.3SG the petition  
 ‘The petition surprised Graham.’ (CREA)

(36) *La petición le sorprendió a Graham.*  
 the petition CL.DAT surprised.3SG to Graham  
 ‘The petition surprised Graham.’

Word order and information structure in Spanish r-psych verb predicates require further detailed investigation and could result in an entire dissertation of its own. Nevertheless, word order does not influence case marking in r-psych verb predicates. Word order is governed by information structure in r-psych verb predicates. Thus, I leave word order aside here since the focus of this dissertation is case marking in Spanish r-psych verbs.

#### 1.4 NOTES ON DATA SOURCES AND METHODOLOGY

The data used for this study comes from native Mexican Spanish speakers, from several corpora, namely the *Corpus de Referencia del Español Actual* (CREA), the *Corpus de Español* (CdE), and the corpus compiled by Vanhoe (2002) in his dissertation. Both the CREA and the CdE are available online as free resources.<sup>17</sup> All examples from these sources are referenced accordingly. The CREA consists of over one hundred and sixty million words from books and media from all over the Spanish-speaking world. The corpus contains texts from 1975 to 2004 and the texts represent various fields (Science and Technology, Social Sciences, Economy, Arts, Health, etc.). All of the corpus data can be searched and sorted based on medium (e.g., newspapers, novels, interviews, etc.),

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<sup>17</sup> The *CdE* allows for about 100 free queries a day and up to 300 queries a day with a contribution.

geography, and theme (e.g., mathematics, sports, politics, etc). The searched item is presented in the context of a sentence and can also be accessed at the level of paragraphs, which facilitates the understanding of the context in which they are used. The CdE is a 100-million-word corpus from books and media from all over the Spanish-speaking world. The corpus has texts from the 1200s to the 1900s and the texts are of various registers, e.g., spoken, fiction, newspaper, and academic writing. In this corpus as well the searched item is presented in the context of a sentence and can also be accessed at the level of paragraphs, which facilitates the understanding of the context in which they are used. However, this corpus does not allow for searches based on medium or theme. It does allow searches based on geography. Finally, Vanhoe's corpus consists of eighteen books including two novels from Spain and sixteen short story books from different countries in Latin America.

Additionally, I solicited examples from some Mexican Spanish speakers. These examples are not referenced. My informants have lived in Mexico since childhood and only lived abroad in other non-Spanish speaking countries after the age of 20.<sup>18</sup> I also asked native speakers for intuitions on corpus data, as well as other sentences that I created or that we created together during elicitation sessions. Many a time those sentences were a result of discussions we had about the different contexts in which sentences could appear or how they would formulate a description of some state or event given a specific context.

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<sup>18</sup> The speakers were mainly from the Mexico, D.F., and Monterey areas.

There are many varieties of Spanish spoken all over the world and a study to encompass all these varieties is beyond the scope of this dissertation. I restrict this study to modern Mexican Spanish, which is a recognized standard variety of Spanish (Cotton & Sharp 1988, Anzaldúa 1999; *inter alia*). Furthermore the *leísmo* phenomenon, the phenomenon whereby the dative 3<sup>rd</sup> person clitics *le/les* (SG/PL) are used in lieu of the 3<sup>rd</sup> person masculine accusative clitics *lo/los* (SG/PL), is predominant in various parts of Spain and occurs also in parts of Argentina, Bolivia, Ecuador, Paraguay and Peru (Real Academia Española 2005). The possibility of biased and unclear judgments prevents me from considering these regions in my study. The *leísmo* phenomenon does not occur in modern Mexican Spanish (Torres-Cacoullós 2002). The *laísmo* and *loísmo* phenomena, the use of the 3<sup>rd</sup> person feminine accusative clitic *la* and the 3<sup>rd</sup> person masculine accusative clitic *lo* respectively in place of the 3<sup>rd</sup> person dative clitic *le*, also only occurs in Spain (Roldán 1975, Bello 1898; *inter alia*) but is not attested in Mexican Spanish.<sup>19</sup>

For data from the corpus, I only use written texts.<sup>20</sup> Written and oral texts have varying characteristics and this variation may extend to case marking. Among written texts I limit my study to data from books as opposed to magazines and newspapers to minimize any variation due to genre.<sup>21</sup> In this dissertation only tokens with an explicit 3<sup>rd</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Since I limit myself to Mexican Spanish, I did not collect data from the *SenSem Databank*, the *CESS-ESP Treebank*, nor the *CONLL2002*, which are all Peninsular Spanish corpora. I also did not use the *Wiki Corpus* which does not indicate the variety of Spanish used, nor the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights Corpus* since it is a translation and not originally drafted in Spanish.

<sup>20</sup> This is the reason that I did not choose to work with data from the *Habla de Monterrey* corpus, a corpus of recorded spoken conversations from Monterrey, Mexico, nor with *Habla Culta*, a corpus of spoken Mexican Spanish.

<sup>21</sup> For literature on genre differences and differences between written and spoken texts see Dijk (1975), Biber (1998), and Hyland (2002), (2011).



person dative clitic *le* or *les* or accusative clitic *lo* or *los* or *la* or *las* were analyzed since the other clitic forms, 1<sup>st</sup>- and 2<sup>nd</sup>-person singular (*me/te*) and plural (*nos/os*), do not distinguish between accusative and dative case in Spanish, as shown in (37).

(37) Dative and accusative clitics in Spanish:

		Dative clitics	Accusative clitics
SINGULAR	1st person	me	me
	2nd person	te	te
	3rd person	le	lo (masc)/la (fem)
PLURAL	1st person	nos	nos
	2nd person	os	os
	3rd person	les	los(masc)/las (fem)

As far as the methodology used in this dissertation, throughout the dissertation I use diagnostics to define and identify the linguistic concepts used, such as states, events, agentivity, affectedness, etc. In general people have intuitions about various linguistics phenomena. For example, intuitively we know that there is a distinction between nouns and verbs in English and Spanish and linguists working on these languages attempt to provide reliable diagnostics to distinguish between nouns and verbs based on their semantic and grammatical properties. In this dissertation, some important concepts that are defined linguistically, and for which reliable linguistics diagnostics for intuitively very clear cases are discussed, are: states, events, agentivity, volitionality, and affectedness. The value of these diagnostics is that they assist in identifying different

concepts and phenomena in and across languages in an objective manner, and not just in an intuitive way. Thus, in Chapters 3 and 4, I make detailed efforts to provide reliable diagnostics for different concepts before these diagnostics are applied to r-psych verbs. On applying these diagnostics to r-psych verbs, different patterns of behavior are observed that may help us analyze and draw conclusions about these verbs. A final note: in general, all chapters begin with examples in English for expository purposes before moving on to examples in Spanish.

## **1.5 ORGANIZATION OF THE DISSERTATION**

The remainder of this dissertation is organized as follows. In Chapter 2 I motivate this new study by critiquing the previous research on psych verbs, highlighting their contributions, and presenting their shortcomings in light of corpus data, and concludes with the objectives and claims of this dissertation. In Chapter 3 I discuss the correlation between case marking and eventuality in Spanish r-psych verbs and, based on the variation demonstrated by corpus data, demonstrates that eventuality is not enough to account for case marking in Spanish r-psych verbs. In Chapter 4 I proposes that the two components of transitivity relevant to case marking in r-psych verbs are agentivity and affectedness of the object. It defines and provides diagnostics for these notions, and, using corpus data as well as native speaker judgments, it shows that these two components can account for case marking in Spanish r-psych verbs. In Chapter 5 I discuss transitivity and causation in r-psych verbs, and the theoretical underpinnings and further implications of the proposal I make. In Chapter 6 I summarize the content of this

dissertation, concludes with the contributions of this dissertation to the field of lexical semantics, and briefly discusses future research.

## **Chapter 2: Motivating a New Study**

In this chapter, I review the literature on reverse psych verbs (r-psych verbs, henceforth), focusing on previous accounts for case-marking in Spanish r-psych verbs and on approaches that discuss agency and volition in r-psych verbs. The majority of proposals regarding case-marking in Spanish r-psych verbs have claimed that there is a strong correlation between eventuality type and accusative/dative case-marking. Some studies suggest a correlation between transitivity and case-marking in Spanish r-psych verbs. I review this literature here in Section 2.1. For English r-psych verbs, attention has been drawn to the components of agency and volition. Given that my claim is that these are factors that influence case-marking in Spanish r-psych verbs, I review this literature here in Section 2.2. Overall, the goal of this chapter is to highlight the contributions of previous approaches to the topic, to discuss their shortcomings based on observations made from corpus data, and finally, based on all of the above, to define and describe the research questions and objectives of this dissertation. The research questions and objectives of the dissertation are outlined in Section 2.3.

### **2.1 CASE-MARKING IN SPANISH R-PSYCH VERBS**

In this section I discuss previous research on case-marking in Spanish r-psych verbs. I discuss several approaches, including aspectual analyses (Parodi & Luján 2000, Ackerman & Moore 2001), an account using event structure and event semantics (Cuervo 2003), a perspective from lexical functional grammar (Vanhoe 2002), and transitivity-

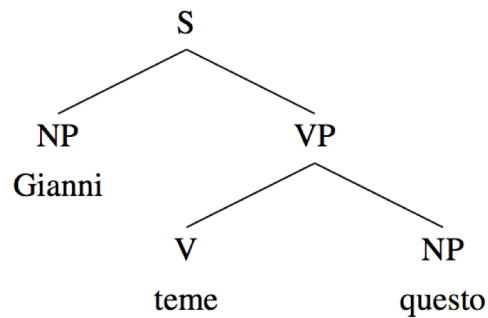
based approaches (Vázquez Rozas 2006, 2012, Miglio *et al* 2013). I then summarize the contributions and drawbacks of this research at the end of the section. First, however, I briefly summarize Belletti & Rizzi's (1988) seminal work on Italian psych verbs. Belletti & Rizzi (1988), within the framework of Generative Grammar, were the first to classify psych verbs based on the case of the experiencer argument, and many researchers have taken their paper as the initial point of their own accounts. Belletti & Rizzi (1988) work within the Government & Binding framework, and propose the following lexical representations for the three lexical classes of Italian psych verbs, shown in (38).

(38) <i>temere</i> :	$\theta$ -grid	[ <u>Experiencer</u> , Theme]
	Case-grid	[ - - ]
<i>preoccupare</i> :	$\theta$ -grid	[Experiencer, Theme]
	Case-grid	[ ACC - ]
<i>piacere</i> :	$\theta$ -grid	[Experiencer, Theme]
	Case-grid	[ DAT - ]

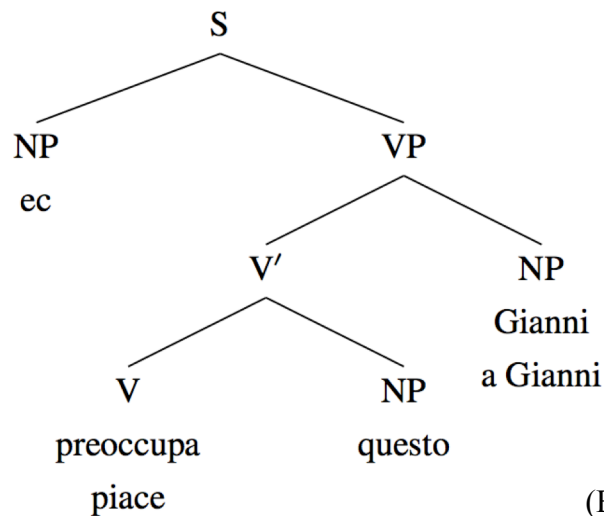
(Belletti & Rizzi 1988, 120-122, p.344)

Belletti & Rizzi claim that in the *temere* 'to fear' verb class the experiencer is selected as an external argument (indicated by underscoring), resulting in a simple transitive sentence. In the verb classes *preoccupare* 'to worry' and *piacere* 'to please', the experiencer is given accusative and dative cases respectively since these verbs have no external  $\theta$ -role. Belletti & Rizzi propose the following structures for the lexical representations of *temere* 'to fear' in (39) and for *preoccupare* 'to worry', and *piacere* 'to please' in (40).

(39)



(40)



(Belletti & Rizzi 1988, 5-6, p.293)

While Belletti & Rizzi attempt to account for the syntactic configurations of these psych verb classes, they do not provide any insight into the underpinnings of case. Moreover, the psych verb class that can select either accusative or dative case for the experiencer argument is unique to Spanish, and Belletti & Rizzi's proposal does not account for it. I therefore turn now to other approaches that discuss the semantics of case-marking in Spanish r-psych verbs.

### 2.1.1 Aspectual analysis

Parodi and Luján (2000) (P&L, henceforth) is the first work within the generative tradition to directly deal with the difference between the two case realizations in Class III Spanish r-psych verbs. P&L use aspectual classes to define r-psych verbs and their syntactic structures. Following Ritter & Rosen (1998), P&L postulate that the semantic and syntactic properties of r-psych verbs are determined compositionally and not lexically; that is, they are determined in the syntax and not in the lexicon. P&L claim that in Class III r-psych verbs (*molestar* ‘to bother’ etc.) with an accusative experiencer, the experiencer is a direct object (DO) and the verb encodes an event. With a dative experiencer, however, the experiencer is an indirect object (IO) and the verb encodes a state. P&L argue the meaning in (41) would be that “the noise bothered/worried/affected her always, while she was alive” (cf. P&L 2000: 4), while in (42), the meaning is that “Mary is usually not bothered/worried/affected by noise, but on one occasion, yesterday, the noise bothered/worried/affected her” (cf. P&L 2000: 4).<sup>22</sup>

- (41) *El ruido le /(\*la) molestó/preocupó/afectó.*  
the noise bothered /worried/affected him/her-DAT (all his/her life)  
‘The noise bothered/worried/affected him/her.’

- (42) *El ruido la /(\*le) molestó/preocupó/afectó.*  
the noise bothered /worried/affected him/her-ACC (yesterday)  
‘The noise bothered/worried/affected him/her.’

(Parodi & Luján 2000, 5a-b, p.3)

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<sup>22</sup> P&L do not specify what variety of Spanish they are looking at.

In order to make a further distinction between (41) and (42), P&L also use the notion of affectedness as defined by Anderson (1979), “an object is affected if it is changed, moved, created or exposed by the verb” (cf. P&L 2000: 4). They claim that while in (42) the experiencer undergoes a change and is affected, in (41) it does not. To support their claim, P&L provide several diagnostics to distinguish between states and events. For states and events the tests P&L propose are the use of locative adjuncts, time adjuncts, multiple event adjuncts, and the progressive context. However, they do not provide any tests for affectedness.

P&L claim that states cannot appear with locative or time adjuncts since the presence of these adjuncts in a sentence gives rise to a reading of single/multiple event ambiguity and thus these are not compatible with states. Thus, according to them, (43) and (45) are eventive, and (44) and (46) are stative.

- (43) *Los chistes sorprenden/horrorizan/choquean a María en la casa de Juan.*  
The jokes surprise/horrify/bother Mary-acc in John’s house

- (44) *\*Los chistes le sorprenden/horrorizan/choquean a María en la casa de Juan.*  
The jokes surprise/horrify/bother Mary-dat in John’s house

- (45) *La música lo molestó/horrorizó/choqueó por una hora.*  
The music bothered/horrified/shocked him for an hour (then he got used to it at the concert)

- (46) *\*La música le molestó/horrorizó/choqueó por una hora.*  
Music bothered/horrified/shocked him for an hour (while he was alive)  
(Parodi & Luján 2000, 10a-b-11a-b, p.8-9)

Similarly, P&L claim that states cannot appear with multiple event adjuncts since the presence of these adjuncts in a sentence gives rise to an iterative or repetitive reading that



is not compatible with states. Thus, according to them, in (47) and (48), the sentences are eventive and stative, respectively.

(47) *La música del vecino lo molesta frecuentemente.*  
The music of the neighbor bothers him-acc frequently

(48) *\*La música del vecino le molesta frecuentemente.*  
The music of the neighbor bothers him-dat frequently  
(Parodi & Luján 2000, 12a-b, p.9)

For these three diagnostics, P&L do not provide examples with canonical stative and eventive verbs and only provide the limited examples with r-psych verbs given in (43)-(48). Additionally, their claim that states cannot appear with these three adjuncts is not true. In fact, states can appear with a locative adjunct, as in (49), with a time adjunct, as in (50), and with a multiple event adjunct, as in (51).

(49) *Manuel tiene problemas en la escuela.*  
Manuel has.3SG problems in the school  
Manuel has problems in school.

(50) *Marisa estuvo enfadada por una hora.*  
Marisa was.3SG angry for a hour  
Marisa was angry for an hour.

(51) *Adela sabe la respuesta frecuentemente.*  
Adela knows.3SG the answer frequently  
Adela knows the answer frequently.

While I do not disagree that these tests perhaps could work, further discussion of the details of these tests is lacking and thus as is, they do not function very well to identify states and events.

Another test P&L propose is the progressive context and P&L claim that states cannot appear within the progressive aspect. They also add that states may have an inceptive reading in the progressive aspect but do not consider it since they claim it is irrelevant. Thus, according to them, in (52) and (53), the sentences are eventive and stative, respectively.

(52) *Tus chistes están asustando/molestando/escandalizando a María.*  
Your jokes are frightening/bothering/shocking María.

(53) *\*Tus chistes le están asustando/molestando/escandalizando a María.*  
Your jokes are frightening/bothering/shocking to María.

(Parodi & Luján 2000, 14a-b, p.10)

The issue with this test is that it does not work consistently given that statives in Spanish can be expressed in the progressive aspect, as seen in (54).<sup>23</sup>

(54) *Estoy teniendo más problemas cada día.*  
be.1SG have.GER more problems each day  
'I am having more problems every day. (Salaberry 2000, p.31)

Overall, the diagnostics presented need to be further elaborated in order to function as reliable diagnostics. As far as affectedness is concerned, although P&L's analysis sounds intuitively correct, the way they use the term "affectedness" is not linguistically well-defined. They simply say that the experiencer is affected if it is "changed". It is commonly assumed that the theme argument of causative verbs like *romper* 'to break' also undergoes a change of state. However, this change of state is permanent and physical. The change of state pertinent to the accusative experiencer of r-psych verbs is

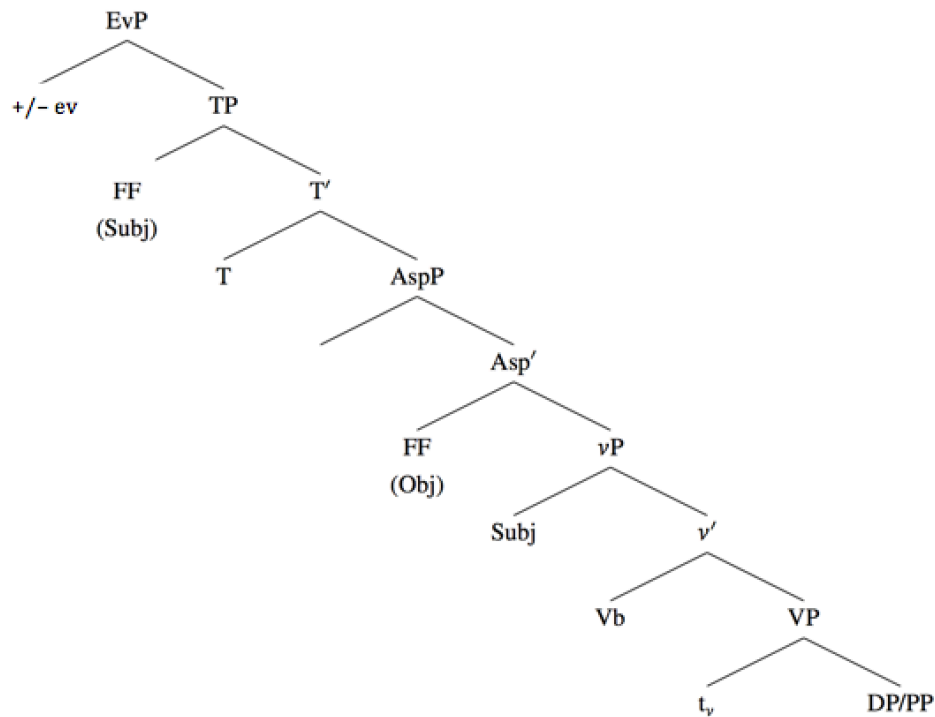
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<sup>23</sup> I discuss the details of the progressive test with states and events more in detail in Chapter 3, Section 3.1.1.

of a different nature. It is mental and temporary. So, in order to use the notion of affectedness (as equated to change of state by P&L) for case-marking in r-psych verbs, this notion needs to be defined more precisely.<sup>24</sup>

Moving on, P&L attempt to reflect the aspectual difference between (41) and (42) in syntactic structures. They propose an Aspect Phrase '*AspP*', a special projection, to encode affectedness. For both stative and eventive r-psych verb sentences they propose the structure in (55).<sup>25</sup>

(55)



(Parodi & Luján 2000, 16, p.12)

<sup>24</sup> For a brief discussion on the type of change entailed by r-psych verbs see Chapter 5, end of Section 5.1.

<sup>25</sup> Chomsky (1995, 1998) uses the category FF ( $\alpha$ ) to express formal features contained in the lexical item  $\alpha$ , which are those features that are relevant to the operation of the syntax. It is not relevant here to understand Parodi & Luján's proposal for r-psych verbs and thus I set it aside. What is relevant is the Event Phrase and the Aspect Phrase.

P&L argue that, for the stative sentence in (41), the experiencer argument is not affected and has no temporal effect on the VP, and thus in the structure in (55) the Event Phrase is not filled (-ev). The dative experiencer raises to the Spec of AspP, the dative clitic is generated in the head of AspP, and they both can move to the Spec of EvP since it is empty (-ev). For the eventive sentence in (42), the experiencer argument is affected and has a temporal effect on the VP, and thus the Event Phrase is filled (+ev). The accusative experiencer raises to the Spec of AspP, the accusative clitic cannot be generated because the head of Asp is already filled with [+affected], and the accusative experiencer cannot move to the Spec of EvP since it is also filled [+ev]. With this structure P&L attempt to account for the word order difference in r-psych verbs with dative and accusative experiencers. However, they do not provide full-fledged syntactic trees with the different sentences and word orders reflected in them.

Similar to P&L, Ackerman and Moore (2001) (A&M, henceforth) note that eventuality, state vs. event, is related to case-marking in r-psych verbs. Nevertheless, they claim that it is actually change of state that is the key factor for case-marking and that eventuality is subsumed under change of state. A&M propose a functional alternation between direct and indirect object experiencers. They mention that this functional alternation correlates with a semantic contrast of change of state, as shown in (56) and (57).

- (56) *Los perros lo molestan siempre que llega ebrio.*  
 The dogs CL.ACC bother.3PL always that arrives.3SG drunk  
 ‘The dogs harass him (DO) every time he comes home drunk.’

- (57) *Los perros le molestan (\*siempre que llega ebrio).*  
 The dogs CL.DAT bother.3PL always that arrives.3SG drunk  
 ‘The dogs harass him (IO) (\*every time he comes home drunk).’  
 (A&M 2001, 9a and 9b, p.65)

According to A&M, in (56) there is a change of state in the experiencer and in (57) there is no change of state in the experiencer. A&M develop their proposal for r-psych verbs taking as their base Dowty’s influential 1991 paper. Therefore, in order to fully understand A&M’s proposal, I briefly go over Dowty’s (1991) proposals regarding argument realization.

Dowty proposed that grammatically relevant semantic roles are best viewed as a cluster of concepts or prototypes. He introduces two proto-type based semantic roles called the Agent Proto-Role and the Patient Proto-Role. Dowty’s assumption is that verbs can assign some or all of these lexical entailments to their argument, and the argument of the verb that possesses more agent proto-role properties is assigned the subject grammatical function and the argument that possesses more patient proto-role properties is assigned the object grammatical function. The list of entailments provided by him is shown in (58).

- (58) a. Contributing properties for Agent proto-role:
- i. volitional involvement in the event or state
  - ii. sentience (and or perception)
  - iii. causing an event or change of state in another participant
  - iv. movement (relative to the position of another participant)
  - v. (exists independently of the event named by the verb)

- b. Contributing properties for Patient proto-role:
    - i. undergoes change of state
    - ii. incremental theme
    - iii. causally affected by another participant
    - iv. stationary relative to movement of another participant
    - v. (does not exist independently of the event, or not at all)
- (Dowty 1991, 27 and 28, p. 572)

Dowty also proposes a (Syntagmatic) Argument Selection Principle, as seen in (59), which states that the argument with the maximum number of agent proto-role entailments would be mapped to the subject and the argument with the highest number of patient proto-role entailments would be mapped to the object.

- (59) (SYNTAGMATIC) ARGUMENT SELECTION PRINCIPLE  
 In predicates with grammatical subject and object, the argument for which the predicate entails the greatest number of Proto-Agent properties will be lexicalized as the subject of the predicate; the argument having the greatest number of Proto-Patient entailments will be lexicalized as the direct object.
- (Dowty 1991 p. 576, 31)

Based on Dowty's (Syntagmatic) Argument Selection Principle in the sentence in (60), the argument *John* is selected as the subject because this argument has more Proto-Agent properties (e.g., 58a: i-iii, & v) than the argument *a house* which has no Proto-Agent properties, and the argument *a house* has more Proto-Patient properties (e.g., 58b: i-v) than the argument *John* which has no Proto-Patient properties.

- (60) John built a house.

Based on Dowty, A&M note that in (61) the argument *los perros* 'the dogs' has one agent proto-role property (causing an event or change of state in another participant) and has no patient proto-role properties, while the other argument *lo* 'him' has one agent proto-role property (sentience and/or perception) and two patient proto-role properties (undergoes

change of state, and causally affected by another participant). Since the argument *los perros* ‘the dogs’ has no patient proto-role properties and the argument *lo* ‘him’ has more patient proto-role than agent proto-role properties, *los perros* ‘the dogs’ is assigned nominative case and *lo* ‘him’ is assigned accusative case. In (62) they note that the arguments *los perros* ‘the dogs’ and *le* ‘him’ have an equal number of agent proto-role properties (causing an event or change of state in another participant, and sentience and/or perception, respectively) and both have no patient proto-role properties. However they do not go on to explain why one argument is chosen over the other to be assigned the nominative case and the subject function.

- (61) *Los perros lo molestan siempre que llega ebrio.*  
 The dogs CL.ACC bother.3PL always that arrives.3SG drunk  
 ‘The dogs harass him (DO) every time he comes home drunk.’

- (62) *Los perros le molestan (\*siempre que llega ebrio).*  
 The dogs CL.DAT bother.3PL always that arrives.3SG drunk  
 ‘The dogs harass him (IO) (\*every time he comes home drunk).’

(A&M 2001, 9a and 9b, p.65)

A&M ultimately conclude that the accusative argument possesses the change of state entailment while the dative argument lacks it. Dowty’s (Syntagmatic) Argument Selection Principle, nevertheless, does not have room for verbs that display alternations, for example r-psych verbs constructions in which an argument can be a direct or indirect object. In order to account for the dual case-marking in r-psych verbs, A&M propose instead a Paradigmatic Selection Principle, as shown in (63).

(63) PARADIGMATIC ARGUMENT SELECTION PRINCIPLE

If P(arg1 and arg2) is a predicate of class X, where arg1 is associated with the indirect object function, then the lexicon also contains P'(arg1, arg2') where arg2 and arg2' have identical entailment sets, except that arg2' has an additional entailment of UNDERGOES CHANGE OF STATE; arg2' is associated with the direct object grammatical function.

(A&M 2001, 15, p.68)

The principle states that if a predicate (P) has two arguments where the second argument is associated with the indirect object grammatical function, then the lexicon also contains a separate related predicate' (P') with two arguments (the first one being the same), where the second argument of P and P' have identical sets of lexical entailment except that the second argument of P' has an additional entailment of 'undergoes change of state' and is also associated with the direct object grammatical function. Based on the pair of sentences in (61) and (62), A&M propose that r-psych verbs like *molestar* 'to bother', for instance, have two related lexical entries as formulated in (64):

(64)		Causer (PA)		Sentient (PA)	
	<i>molestar<sub>a</sub></i>	< x <sub>1</sub>		x <sub>2</sub>	>
		SUBJ		IO	

		Causer (PA)		Sentient (PA)	
	<i>molestar<sub>b</sub></i>	< x <sub>1</sub>		x <sub>2</sub>	>
		SUBJ		DO	
				Change of state (PP)	

(A&M 2001, p. 67)

In (64) *molestar<sub>a</sub>* 'to bother' is the lexical entry which has two arguments, one of which is an indirect object with the agent proto-role property of Sentience, thus as per the Paradigmatic Selection Principle there exists another verb *molestar<sub>b</sub>* that also has two arguments, one of which has the agent proto-role property of sentience and additionally



has the patient proto-role property of ‘change of state’ and is thus a direct object. All in all, A&M propose a functional alternation between direct and indirect object experiencers that correlates with a semantic contrast of change of state.

In summary, both P&L (2000) and A&M (2001) consider eventuality type and affectedness as related to case-marking of the experiencer in r-psych verbs. The primary difference between P&L and A&M is that P&L rely heavily on eventuality to account for case-marking while A&M claim change of state as the key factor. P&L (2000) claim that stative r-psych verbs select dative case for the experiencer and the experiencer undergoes no change of state; it is not affected. Eventive r-psych verbs select accusative case for the experiencer and the experiencer undergoes change of state; it is affected. A&M (2001) claim that the dative experiencer does not undergo a change of state while the accusative experiencer does. Both these analyses thus present case-marking as a binary contrast. The other difference between P&L and A&M is in whether the eventuality type and affectedness are derived from two different syntactic constructions a single verbal root can occur in (as per P&L) or if it arises lexically from two distinct but related senses of the verb in question (as per A&M), though the core intuition and relation of semantics to case is essentially the same. However, data from the *Corpus de Referencia del Español Actual* (CREA) indicate a considerable amount of variation. For example, in (65)-(67), all

three sentences are intuitively events, and yet the dative case is selected for the experiencer.<sup>26</sup>

- (65) *(Lucrecia) tenía frío y le asustaban los relámpagos.*  
 Lucrecia had.3SG cold and CL.DAT scared.3PL the lightnings  
 ‘(Lucrecia) was cold and the lightning scared her.’

- (66) *A nadie le preocupaba la gran cantidad de personas que sufrieron ataques de locura.*  
 to no.one CL.DAT worried.3SG CL.DAT big quantity of  
 people that suffered.3PL attacks of madness  
 ‘No one worried about the large number of people that suffered from madness attacks.’

- (67) *Lo que observó le preocupó seriamente.*  
 that-which observed CL.DAT worried.3SG seriously  
 ‘What he observed seriously worried him.’ (CREA)

There are examples with very similar contexts where in one instance the experiencer is dative and in the other it is accusative, as shown in (68) and (69) respectively and also in (70) and (71).

- (68) *Espero que no le moleste.*  
 hope.1SG that not CL.DAT bother.3SG  
 ‘I hope that it does not bother you.’

- (69) *Perdone que lo moleste señor, pero Cruz está aquí conmigo.*  
 pardon.IMP that CL.ACC bother.1SG sir but Cruz is here  
 with.me  
 ‘Sorry to bother you sir, but Cruz is here with me.’

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<sup>26</sup> At this point the sentences are simply being judged with linguistic intuitions regarding their eventuality. I acknowledge that this may be problematic and therefore in Chapter 3 I provide reliable linguistic diagnostics for states and events.

- (70) *...alli le sorprendió la muerte.*  
 there CL.DAT surprised.3SG the death  
 ‘...there death surprised him.’
- (71) *La muerte lo sorprendió mientras cantaba.*  
 the death CL.ACC surprised.3SG while sang.3SG  
 ‘Death surprised him while he sang.’ (CREA)

In (68) and (69), both the sentences occur in a context where the subject is interrupting someone in the middle of their work and is affected, and in (70) and (71) both times someone is surprised by death and is affected. Yet the case selected for the experiencer argument varies. Neither Parodi & Luján (2000) nor Ackerman & Moore (2001) can account for these examples with their proposals. While I ultimately do agree that there is a correlation between the nature of the event, affectedness, and case-marking, there seem to be other factors that influence case-marking in these instances and these factors need to be identified.

### 2.1.2 Event structure and event semantics

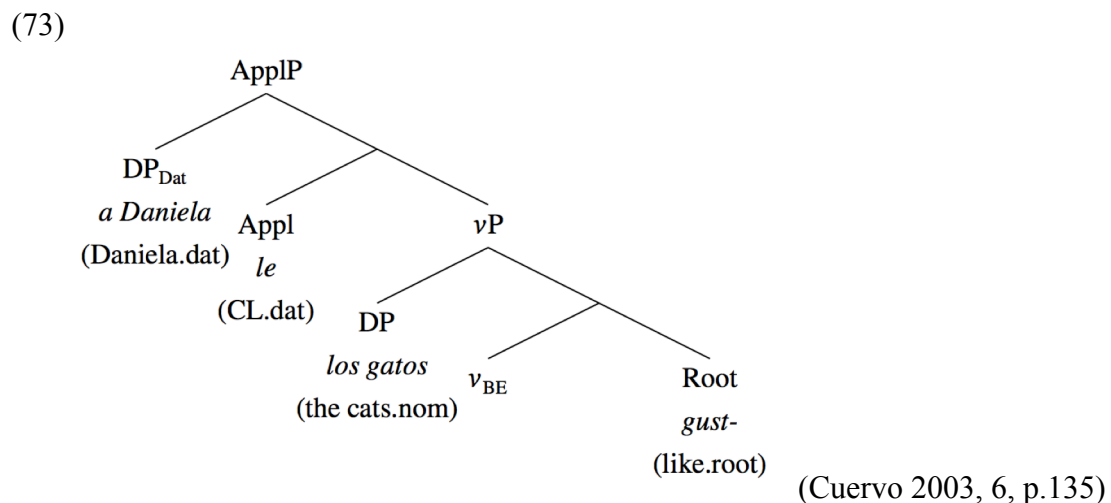
Cuervo (2003) addresses the issues of datives at large in Spanish. Her work is relevant for the current study since she accounts for dative marking in r-psych verbs. Cuervo uses a framework that combines elements of event structure and event semantics proposed and developed by various researchers (Hale & Keyser 1993, Kratzer 1996, Marantz 1997, Pylkkänen 2002) to propose her larger argument that datives have structural meanings that depend on where the dative DP is licensed. Cuervo assumes that verbs are formed in

the syntax by a combination of a lexical root and a verbalizing head little *v*. She proposes three basic types of little *v* that encode different kinds of events: *vDO* (Activities), *vGO* (Changes) and *vBE* (States). She postulates that these types of little *v* can combine to form complex predicates, for example *vDO+vBE* (Causatives), *vGO+vBE* (Inchoatives). As far as datives are concerned with these event types, Cuervo, directly applying Pytkänen's (2002) proposal to Spanish, argues that dative arguments are not direct arguments of the verb but rather, like subjects, one licensed syntactically and semantically by a specialized head called the '*Applicative*'. She claims that there are three types of applicatives in Spanish based on where the applicative is realized syntactically: (i) the applicative head can either go close to the theme (low applicatives); or (ii) it can relate to the entire event (high applicatives); or (iii) if the event is a complex event then the applicative could attach below the higher event (*VoiceP*) but above the lower event (*VP*) (affected applicative). An example of a low applicative is the *vDO* event, *Juan le dio un regalo a María* 'Juan gave a gift to María', where the dative is related to the theme as a recipient. With a high applicative Cuervo claims the dative is related to the entire event and the example she gives is the *vBE* event, *Le ocurrió un accidente* 'An accident happened to her/him', where the dative is related to the entire event. Finally, a dative that is an affected argument is affected by the lower event and the higher event, for example, *Juan le rompió la radio a María* 'Juan broke the radio on María', where the dative argument is affected by the event *vDO*, 'Juan doing something', and the *vBE*, 'the

broken radio’. Note that Cuervo uses the term affectedness not as a notion of semantic contrast; rather she uses it to mean that the dative argument has a specific relation with the event.

As regards r-psych verbs in Spanish, Cuervo only deals with the argument realization of r-psych verbs that take a dative experiencer argument like *gustar* ‘to like/be appealing’ and *encantar* ‘to love/be enjoyable’. Cuervo analyzes these r-psych verbs as stative and thus generates them as ‘*vBE+root*’. According to Cuervo the dative DP in this structure is licensed by a high applicative and is thus generated at the Spec of *ApplP*; the clitic is generated as the head of *ApplP*. For the sentence in (72) she proposes the structure shown in (73).

- (72) *A Daniela le gustan los gatos.*  
 Daniela.DAT CL.DAT like.PL the cats  
 ‘Daniela likes cats.’ (Lit. ‘To Daniela appeal the cats’)  
 (Cuervo 2003, 37, p.17)

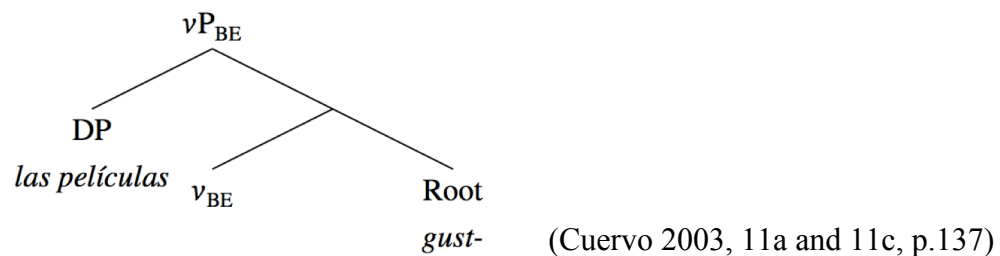


Cuervo claims that the experiencer in r-psych verbs like *gustar* ‘to like’ does not have a direct relation to the theme and that it is external to the predication relation. Cuervo’s proposal that the dative is an external argument relies on the fact that verbs like *gustar* ‘to like’ can have only one argument, which is the internal argument, that is the subject of the predication. Thus r-psych verbs like *gustar* ‘to like’ can be used in sentences without an experiencer, as shown in (74) and (75), for which Cuervo proposes the structure in (76), where *gustar* ‘to like’ is analyzed as a stative ( $vP_{BE}$ ), and where the licensing position of the theme is the same as the position of the nominative argument.

- (74) *Las películas japonesas gustaron mucho.*  
 [the movies Japanese].NOM pleased.PL a-lot  
 ‘The Japanese movies were very much liked.’  
 (‘The Japanese movies were very appealing.’)

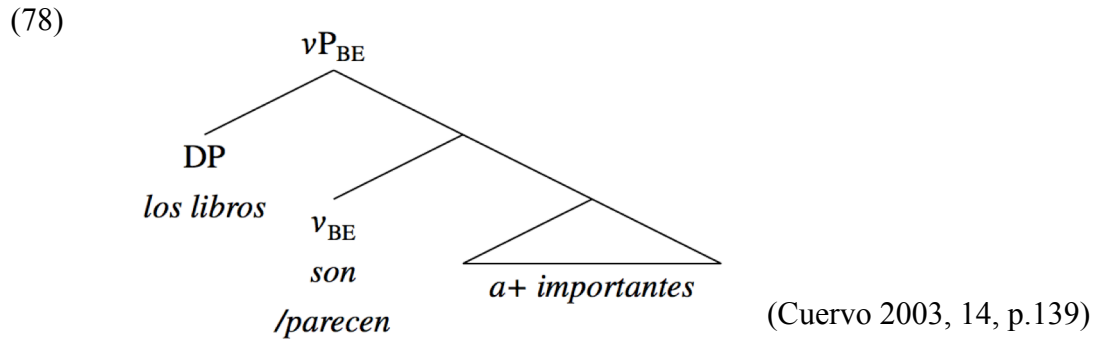
- (75) *Los chicos propios nunca molestan.*  
 [the kids own].NOM never bother.PL  
 ‘Your own children are never bothersome.’

(76)



Cuervo analyses these sentences as stative, comparing them to the structure *copula + predicative adjective* shown in (77), and notes that both express a property of the nominative argument and have the same overall syntactic structure, as shown in (78).

- (77) *Esos libros son/parecen importantes.*  
 those books.NOM are.PL/seemPL important.  
 ‘Those books are important.’ (Cuervo 2003, 12a, p.138)



The drawback of Cuervo’s analysis of r-psych verbs like *gustar* ‘to like’ is that she completely ignores the fact that sentences such as (74) and (75) require a covert experiencer in the interpretation of the sentence for the sentence to be felicitous, suggesting that the dative argument is not introduced independently from the verbal root. With respect to the accusative marking in r-psych verbs, Cuervo does not deal with it in her dissertation. In summary, Cuervo’s analysis makes an interesting suggestion that r-psych verbs that take a dative experiencer are stative and similar to the structure *copula* + *predicative adjective*. This matter will resurface in my discussion of r-psych verbs in Chapter 4.

### 2.1.3 Lexical Functional Grammar

Vanhoe (2002), in his dissertation, argues for an analysis of the syntactic aspects of Spanish psych verbs in Lexical Functional Grammar. Using Lexical Mapping Theory (Bresnan & Kanerva 1989), Vanhoe proposes the following representations of the three

psych verbs: *temer* ‘to fear’ as in (79), *preocupar* ‘to worry’ as in (80), and *gustar* ‘to like’ as in (81).<sup>27</sup>

(79) *temer*

estructura- $\theta$	<P-A <sup>Ⓢ</sup> ,	P-P>
	I	I
estructura-a	[-o]	[-r]
	I	I
estructura-f	SUJ	OBJ

(80) *preocupar*

estructura- $\theta$	<P-A,	P-P>
	I	I
estructura-a	[-o]	[-r]
	I	I
estructura-f	SUJ	OBJ

(81) *gustar*

estructura- $\theta$	<P-A <sup>Ⓢ</sup> ,	P-P>
	I	I
estructura-a	[+o]	[-r]
	I	I
estructura-f	OBJ	SUJ

(↑DAT) = +

(Vanhoe 2002, 63 and 65, p. 204-205)

In (79), with *temer* ‘to fear’, there is a secondary agent that Vanhoe calls P-A<sup>Ⓢ</sup> and since in the argument structure it is assigned [-o] (where an argument with [-o] is always realized as a non-object), the secondary agent P-A<sup>Ⓢ</sup> becomes the subject and the primary patient P-P becomes the object. Similarly, in (80), with *preocupar* ‘to worry’ there is a primary agent P-A, which is assigned [-o] and thus is realized as the subject and the primary patient P-P is realized as the object. In contrast, in (81), with *gustar* ‘to like’

<sup>27</sup> According to Vanhoe P-A is a primary agent, P-A<sup>Ⓢ</sup> is a secondary agent, and P-P is a primary patient.



there is a secondary agent P-A<sup>28</sup> which is assigned [+o] (when an argument with [+o] is always realized as a dative object) and there is a secondary patient P-P with [-r] (which can be subject or object) so the secondary patient P-P becomes the subject and the primary patient P-A becomes the object.<sup>28</sup>

Vanhoe does not address case-marking in his dissertation; his work, however, is relevant for the current study since he also offers an aspectual analysis of the different classes of psych verbs and uses corpus data for his analysis. Vanhoe's corpus comprises eighteen books including two novels from Spain and sixteen short story books from different countries in Latin America. In contrast to other work on Spanish psych verbs, Vanhoe classifies psych verbs into five categories, rather than the traditional three: (i) the {TEMER} 'to fear' class, (ii) the {PREOCUPAR} 'to worry' class, (iii) the {AGRADAR} 'to please' class, (iv) the {DESCONFIAR} AND {ARREPENTIRSE} 'to mistrust' and 'to repent' class, and (v) the {AFICIONAR} 'to get interested in' class. The first three classes correspond to the three traditional classes of Spanish psych verbs. The {DESCONFIAR} AND {ARREPENTIRSE} 'to mistrust' and 'to repent' class includes psych verbs that require prepositions such as *desconfiar de* 'to mistrust', *gozar de* 'to enjoy', *anhelar por* 'to yearn', which have an experiencer subject and a theme prepositional object, as shown in (82) and (83).<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> For more details on Lexical Functional Grammar and Lexical Mapping Theory, see Bresnan (2001), & Falk (2001).

<sup>29</sup> All glosses and translations of examples from Vanhoe (2002) are mine, since he does not provide any.

- (82) *Hacia tiempo que no gozaba de las sutilezas del*  
 made.3SG time that not enjoyed.3SG of the subtleties of-the  
*buffet o del brunch.*  
 buffet or of-the brunch

‘It had been long since I/she/he enjoyed the buffet and brunch delicacies.’

- (83) *Desconfie de las imitaciones, busque el sello de*  
 distrust.IMP of the imitations search.IMP the stamp of  
*autenticidad.*  
 authenticity

‘Don’t trust the imitations, look for the authenticity stamp.’

(Vanhoe 2002, 50 & 53b, p. 78-79)

According to Vanhoe this class also comprises psych verbs that are reflexive such as *arrepentirse* ‘to repent’, *atreverse* ‘to dare’, and *gozarse* ‘to enjoy’ with an experiencer subject and a theme object, as shown in (84) and (85).

- (84) *Me arrepentí muy pronto.*  
 CL.REFL.1.SG repented.1SG very soon  
 ‘I repented very soon.’

- (85) *...no sé de qué entrevista se trata, pero no*  
 not know of what interview REFL treat.3SG but no  
*me atrevo a confesárselo.*  
 CL.REFL.1SG dare.1SG to confess-him-it

‘I don’t know what interview it was, but I don’t dare to confess it to him.’

(Vanhoe 2002, 59 & 61, p. 80)

The {AFICIONAR} ‘to get interested in’ class includes psych verbs that Vanhoe considers causative such as *aficionar a alguien a una cosa* ‘to make someone a fan of something’, *interesar a alguien en una cosa* ‘to interest someone in something’. These

are the only psych verbs with three arguments — a causer subject, an experiencer object and a prepositional theme, as shown in (86) and (87).<sup>30</sup>

- (86) *La campaña del ayuntamiento me ha*  
 the campaign of-the city.hall CL.ACC.1.SG has.3SG  
*aficionado a los transportes públicos.*  
 made.a.fan to the transports public  
 ‘City hall’s campaign has made me a fan of public transportation.’

- (87) *Quería que [la Señora Conesa] interesara en su*  
 wanted.1/3SG that the madam Conesa intereses.3SG in her  
*lectura a su marido.*  
 reading to her husband  
 ‘I/she/he’ wanted Mrs.Conesa to interest her husband in the reading.’  
 (Vanhoe 2002, 64 & 65, p. 80)

Vanhoe proposes an aspectual analysis of these five classes of psych verbs using linguistic tests, which result in three categories of psych verbs. Concurrent with previous literature {TEMER} ‘to fear’ and {AGRADAR} ‘to please’ are stative, while in contrast to previous literature {PREOCUPAR} ‘to worry’, {DESCONFIAR} ‘to mistrust’ and {ARREPENTIRSE} ‘to repent’ are called *verbos ingresivos*, and {AFICIONAR} ‘to get interested in’ is causative. I focus here on the category of {PREOCUPAR} ‘to worry’ verbs that correspond to the Class III r-psych verbs (e.g., *molestar* ‘to bother’, *sorprender* ‘to surprise’, *asustar* ‘to frighten’). Vanhoe considers these verbs *verbos ingresivos*. Although the term *verbos ingresivos* is popularly translated as inchoative verbs, Vanhoe

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<sup>30</sup> Vanhoe is not the first one to notice these different kinds of psych verbs. Bello (1903) mentions the possibility of some of these verbs to be used with a preposition (*Nos admiramos de un objeto* ‘We have admiration of an object’) and without (*Admiramos un objeto.ACC* ‘We admire an object’), and also as a reverse psych verb (*Un objeto.NOM nos.ACC admira* ‘An object is admired by us’).

distinguishes between the two terms. He defines *verbos ingresivos* in the following manner (Vanhoe 2002; 147) (translation mine):

*Enfocan la fase inicial de un evento, e incluyen también en su sentido una referencia a lo que sigue a esa fase inicial. La fase posterior puede ser un estado (Miguel 1999: 3023 da como ejemplo de este tipo de verbos florecer, marearse o sentarse), o un “proceso que sigue ocurriendo” (hervir, ver).*

‘They focus on the initial stage of the event, and also include in a sense a reference to what follows that initial stage. The following stage could be a state (Miguel 1999:3023 gives as examples of these type of verbs ‘to flower’, ‘to feel nauseated/dizzy’, ‘to sit’), or a “process that keeps happening” (‘to boil’, ‘to see’).’

Vanhoe argues that *verbos ingresivos* focus on the initial stage of the event and not the progressive stage of the event. He maintains that inchoative verbs focus on the progressive stage of the event and thus are different from *verbos ingresivos*. With this definition Vanhoe attempts to classify the hybrid character that the {PREOCUPAR} ‘to worry’ verbs exhibit. According to Vanhoe the {PREOCUPAR} ‘to worry’ verbs exhibit properties of stative verbs as well as inchoative verbs. He argues that sometimes these psych verbs allow a punctual reading, as shown in (88), and other times they do not, as shown in (89).

(88) *A las tres de la tarde, el trueno asustó a Juan.*  
at the three of the evening the thunder scared.3SG to  
Juan

‘At three in the afternoon, the thunder scared Juan.’

- (89) ?*A las tres de la tarde, el trueno me*  
 at the three of the evening the thunder CL.1SG  
*preocupó.*  
 worried.3SG  
 ‘At three in the afternoon, the thunder worried me.’  
 (Vanhoe 2002, 122 and 100b, p. 172)

It is unclear why Vanhoe does not just divide the {PREOCUPAR} ‘to worry’ verbs into states and events, instead of creating a new category of *verbos ingresivos* for them. Perhaps it is because he sets aside case-marking and case-marking is crucial to a discussion on the {PREOCUPAR} ‘to worry’ type verbs. However, his observation that these verbs can have different readings is relevant to case-marking.<sup>31</sup> Vanhoe sets aside the issue of case-marking in psych verbs citing the prevalent *leísmo* phenomenon which he claims makes it difficult to analyze case-marking in psych verbs.<sup>32</sup> Nevertheless, by using a standard of Spanish that does not have the *leísmo* phenomenon, such as Mexican Spanish, and by looking for data with overt accusative and dative clitics, it is in fact possible to present an analysis that includes case-marking in Spanish psych verbs and this is what I do here. Overall, Vanhoe contributes to the discussion on psych verbs given that he elaborates on the different properties exhibited by the {PREOCUPAR} ‘to worry’ verbs and brings out the fact that they are not homogenous in nature.

#### 2.1.4 Transitivity-based approaches

Another approach to the study of Spanish r-psych verbs is the transitivity-based approach. Vázquez Rozas’ (2006) main proposal is that *Gustar type verbs* (GTVs,

<sup>31</sup> See Chapter 4 and 5 in which I argue that the different readings result in different case-marking.

<sup>32</sup> See Chapter 1 for a discussion of the *leísmo* phenomenon.

henceforth), that is, Class II r-psych verbs (e.g., *gustar* ‘to like/please’, *encantar* ‘to really like’) exhibit low-transitivity. She uses the components of Hopper & Thompson’s (1980) Transitivity Hypothesis to demonstrate the low transitivity of GTVs. Specifically she discusses the components of number of participants, kinesis, aspect and punctuality, volition and agency, and affectedness and individuation of the object. Additionally, Vázquez Rozas carries out a brief analysis of the accusative-dative alternation exhibited by r-psych verbs (not GTVs but some Class III r-psych verbs), and concludes that higher degrees of transitivity correlate with accusative case-marking and lower degrees of transitivity correlate with dative case-marking. Vázquez Rozas uses data from the *Base de Datos Sintácticos* (BDS) ‘Syntactic Data Base’ for her analysis, which includes all the texts contained in *Archivo de Textos Hispánicos de la Universidad de Santiago* (ARTHUS) Archive of Hispanic Texts of the University of Santiago. These texts include only oral data from theater from Spain as well as Latin America. Vázquez Rozas does not distinguish between dialectal differences and acknowledges this in her paper.

Vázquez Rozas argues that GTV clauses are incompatible with the perfective aspect, as seen in (90), they do not carry habitual or frequentative readings when used in the present, as seen in (91), and they are not compatible with *parar de*, as seen in (92).

(90) \*? *Os convino refrescaros.*

Freshening up was good for you guys.

(91) *A Ana le gusta Juan (\*todas las semanas/\*cada tarde/\*con frecuencia)*

‘Ana likes Juan (\*every week/\*every evening/\*frequently).’

- (92) \**Esa película no para de gustarme.*  
'That movie does not stop liking me.'

(Vázquez Rozas 2006, 4.20b, 4.22, 4.28 p.6-7)

The incompatibility of GTVs with the perfective aspect, the inability to carry habitual or frequentative readings, and the incompatibility with *parar de*, which is compatible only with dynamic situations, according to Vázquez Rozas, indicates that GTVs are statives and thus GTV clauses exhibit low transitivity. In addition, Vázquez Rozas codes the GTV clauses from the corpus for animacy to investigate volition and agency and finds that 71.65% of the clauses have inanimate subjects, which again is related to lower transitivity. Furthermore, she argues that since GTV clauses are incompatible with the imperative, as seen in (93), they do not exhibit agency and thus are low in transitivity.

- (93) \**Encántales a mis amigos.*  
'Make my friends like you.'

(Vázquez Rozas 2006, 4.40, p.10)

Vázquez Rozas does not provide diagnostics for affectedness and instead makes the argument that the affectedness does not apply to the object of GTV clauses since they are experiencers of a state and not patients in an action clause.

As far as the accusative-dative alternation that certain r-psych verbs exhibit, Vázquez Rozas claims that accusative case-marking tends to correlate with dynamic and telic clauses, the presence of animate subjects, and examples in which the object is physically affected. According to Vázquez Rozas dative case-marking tends to correlate with stative and atelic clauses, the presence of inanimate subjects, and examples in which the object is psychologically affected. Thus, they conclude that clauses with accusative case are high in transitivity and clauses with dative case-marking are low in transitivity.

The examples that Vázquez Rozas provides to demonstrate that accusative case-marking appears in telic clauses and dative case-marking appears in atelic clauses is shown in (94) and (95), respectively.

- (94) *La ha convencido y se casarán en cuanto arreglen los papeles.*  
'He has convinced her and they are going to get married as soon as they straighten the paperwork out.'
- (95) *Veo que a usted le gusta el ambiente porque vernear por ahí en un poblacho, eso no le convence.*  
'I see that you like the atmosphere, because spending the summer in a dump, that does not convince you.' (Vázquez Rozas 2006, 4.81 & 4.82, p.24-25)

For the contrast between the accusative case-marking and an animate subject and dative case-marking and an inanimate subject, she provides the examples seen in (96) and (97), respectively.

- (96) *No buscó a Diego, no quería molestarlo.*  
'S/he did not seek out Diego. S/he did not want to bother him.'
- (97) *También le molestaba mucho que Agus se metiera el dedo en la nariz.*  
'It also bothered him a lot that Agus picked his nose.'  
(Vázquez Rozas 2006, 4.83 & 4.84, p.25)

To highlight the difference between accusative case-marking and a physical effect on the object, and the dative case-marking and a psychological effect on the experiencer, Vázquez Rozas offers the examples shown in (98) and (99), respectively.

- (98) *Los rugidos del león atrajeron al cazador, quien, sacándolo del fondo del foso, lo metió en una gran jaula y se lo llevó.*  
'The roaring of the lion attracted the hunter, who took it out of the bottom of the pit, put it in a big cage, and took it with him.'



- (99) *El libro estaba encuadernado en piel y tenía el canto dorado, pero a ella no le atraía.*  
 ‘The book was bound in leather and had a gilded spine, but did not appeal to her.’  
 (Vázquez Rozas 2006, 4.79 & 4.80, p.24)

Setting aside the issues with dialectal difference, some of the limitations of this study are the lack of elaboration and discussion of the diagnostics used to establish GTV clauses as statives. For example, the perfective reading is in fact compatible with GTV clauses, as seen in (100)-(102).

- (100) *Siempre te gustaron las rubias.*  
 always CL.2SG liked.3PL the blondes  
 ‘You always liked blondes.’
- (101) *Mi vida, me encantó el vestido que me regalaste.*  
 my life CL.1SG really.liked.3SG the dress that CL.1SG  
 gifted.2SG  
 ‘My dear, I really liked the dress that you gifted me.’
- (102) *Me agradó el salón luminoso y aseado, la actividad, el runflar de las máquinas.*  
 CL.1SG pleased.3SG the room bright and tidy the  
 activity the hum of the machines  
 ‘The bright and tidy room, the activity, the hum of the machines, pleased me.’  
 (CREA)

Additionally the imperative test is used by Vázquez Rozas to test for stativity through agency. This is problematic since some states can be agentive and some events can be non-agentive. I present a detailed discussion of the imperative test in Chapter 3 Section 3.1.1 and thus put aside the matter for now. For the section on accusative-dative alternation in r-psych verbs, Vázquez Rozas does not provide any linguistics tests for telicity or affectedness. Vázquez Rozas limits her study to identifying several properties

of GTV clauses and to drawing attention to a couple of factors that may influence case-marking in r-psych verbs. Furthermore, Vázquez Rozas concludes that the accusative-dative alternation does not exhibit any clear semantic difference, which I strongly dispute. Reliable linguistic diagnostics are not elaborated, and neither is the principle that governs the correlation between case-marking and transitivity established. Nevertheless, Vázquez Rozas contributes to the previous literature on r-psych verbs by identifying GTV clauses as low transitivity clauses and by drawing a connection between transitivity and case-marking.

Miglio *et al* (2013) follow Vázquez Rozas, conducting a corpus study in which they statistically analyze the correlation between several variables and the accusative-dative alternation in Spanish r-psych verbs. They utilize a multifactorial regression model, which estimates the relationship among the variables. Miglio *et al* examine 55 verbs with 3<sup>rd</sup>-person singular and plural accusative and dative clitics. The sentences are annotated for experiencer case (dependent variable); animacy stimulus, clausal stimulus, tense, mood, and genre (fixed-effects predictor); and author and verb (random effects predictors). Miglio *et al* use data from the *Corpus de Español* and also distinguish between dialects based on the large categories of North America, Central America, South America, Rio de la Plata, Caribbean, Spain, Europe, and what they call unknown. Their main goal is to determine whether the accusative-dative alternation is truly unpredictable as claimed by Vázquez Rozas. Miglio *et al* give one example of how they coded their data, as shown in (103).

- (103) *Lo que ocurre en la actualidad es que a los novelistas*  
 what happens in the present-day is that to the novelists-EXP/OBL  
*les<sup>RED</sup> preocupa especialmente*  
 to-them-EXP/OBL worries specially  
*la estructura y la palabra [...]*  
 the structure and the word-STIM  
 ‘What happens these days is that novelists are mostly worried about the  
 structure and the word [...]’  
 Annotation: EXPERIENCER: oblique; ANIMACYSTIMULUS: no;  
 CLAUSALSTIMULUS: no; TENSE: present; MOOD: indicative; GENRE: news;  
 AUTHOR: Blanca Berasategui; VERB: *preocupar* ‘to worry’  
 (Miglio *et al* 2013, 7, p.271)

Miglio *et al*’s main finding is that animacy is a strong predictor of case-marking, that is, when the stimulus is animate it is more likely that the accusative case is selected for the experiencer argument and when the stimulus is inanimate an oblique experiencer is more likely. They also found that the use of accusative increases in use moving from North America to South America, as well as in the Caribbean and the Rio de la Plata regions, and that there is heavy use of the dative in Spain, as is to be expected due to the *leísmo* phenomenon. Miglio *et al* conclude that animacy governs accusative-dative case-marking in Spanish r-psych verbs. As seen from the example in (103), Miglio *et al* only annotate ‘yes/no’ for animacy. Animacy, however, can sometimes be tricky to code because there are cases in which the stimulus might not be animate but may be interpreted as animate. For example, body parts such as *su mano* ‘her/his hand’, *su voz* ‘her/his voice’ could be interpreted as animate. The main issue is that animacy is often but not always a property of agents and Miglio *et al*’s finding seems to be an accidental consequence of animacy being closely related to agentivity. Thus, I propose that what needs to be examined is the

correlation between agentivity and case-marking. Overall, Miglio *et al*'s finding on animacy supports my analyses of agentivity in r-psych verbs, as I will show in Chapter 4.

### **2.1.5 Summary**

So far the issues identified by previous literature on case-marking in Spanish r-psych verbs concentrates on the correlation between case-marking and eventuality. Parodi & Luján (2000) claim a strict binary correlation between states and dative case-marking and accusative and eventive case-marking. Data from the corpus shows more variation than Parodi & Luján's (2000) proposals cannot account for. Parodi & Luján (2000) and Ackerman & Moore (2001) also identify affectedness/change of state as a feature of accusative marking and this is a valuable contribution which will be elaborated on in Chapter 4. Cuervo's (2003) work, while not directly discussing r-psych verbs, makes tangential observations on the structure of r-psych verb sentences with dative experiencers. Vanhoe (2002) proposes a more detailed aspectual analysis of five classes of psych verbs, but his work completely sets aside case-marking. His major contribution is the use of corpus data to support his analysis, something that had not been done previously. In summary, previous research has made valuable contributions to understanding the general properties exhibited by r-psych verbs, but eventuality type does not seem sufficient to account for the accusative/dative case-marking patterns they exhibit. Moving on to transitivity based studies, Vázquez Rozas (2006, 2012) and Miglio *et al* (2012) have emphasized the importance of the components of transitivity proposed by Hopper & Thompson (1980) in the *le-lo* alternation in Spanish psych verbs. Vázquez

Rozas shows that *Gustar type verbs* are low in transitivity and that accusative case is selected when the sentences are higher in transitivity. Miglio *et al* propose that the feature of animacy specifically is a strong predictor of case-marking. Thus, in the next section I look at a couple of other factors that may be relevant to determining case-marking in Spanish r-psych verbs.

## 2.2 OTHER PERSPECTIVES

In this section I discuss literature on r-psych verbs that does not address case-marking. These approaches, nevertheless, discuss factors that, in Chapter 4, I claim are relevant to case-marking in Spanish r-psych verbs. In particular, I present research on English psych verbs that identifies two factors — agency and volition — as key to classifying r-psych verbs (Di Desidero 1993 and Arad 1998). I also examine work that takes a point of view rooted in pragmatics and uses English corpus data to discuss the influence and importance of context in linguistic analysis (Graffmiller 2013). At the end of this section I summarize the contributions and drawbacks of this research and highlight its applicability to understanding case-marking in Spanish r-psych verbs.

English r-psych verbs of the *frighten* class have been divided into two sub-classes by Di Desidero (1993, 1999) and Arad (1998).<sup>33</sup> Agency and deliberateness of the action are two factors that have been identified in subdividing this class of English r-psych verbs. Di Desidero (1999) divides FRIGHTEN verbs into two classes, specifically non-

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<sup>33</sup> The *fear* class of English psych verbs are SubjExp verbs (Di Desidero 1993, Arad 1998) and they are not discussed here since this dissertation deals only with reverse-psych verbs. I investigate the analysis of the *frighten* class since it correlates to the Class II and Class III Spanish r-psych verbs that exhibit the accusative/dative alternation in case-marking.

agentive and agentive. She further subdivides the agentive class into two, namely the reaction salient and action salient classes. This is shown in (104).

(104) FRIGHTEN:

- i. non-agentive (e.g., *depress*, *concern*)
- ii. agentive:
  - a. reaction salient (e.g., *amaze*, *delight*)
  - b. action salient (e.g., *amuse*, *frighten*)

(Adapted from Di Desidero 1993)

For the non-agentive class, Di Desidero includes verbs such as *depress* and *concern* that express a simple reaction event. According to Di Desidero these verbs place emphasis on the description of the reaction of the experiencer and the reaction is not even caused by an agent. In (105) is a sentence with the non-agentive verb *depress*. It is clear that the argument *the situation* is not an agent since situations cannot act agentively. This is further supported by the fact that *depress* cannot be used in imperative, as seen in (106). Similarly in (107) the verb *concern*, which also falls under the non-agentive class, does not allow an imperative use, showing that it also does not have an agent.

(105) The situation depressed Mary.

(106) \*Depress her!

(107) \*Concern her!

(Adapted from Di Desidero 1999)

In summary, psych verbs that are non-agentive cannot have agents causing an action and thus the sentence focuses on the reaction of the experiencer instead. For the verbs from the agentive class, Di Desidero claims that they express complex events with two sub-events: an action event and a reaction event. Furthermore, there are two subclasses in this

category: one in which the reaction event is salient, as shown in (108), and another in which the action event is salient, as shown in (109).

(108) The woman fascinates Mary.

(109) The woman comforted her son. (Adapted from Di Desidero 1999)

In both (108) and (109), according to Di Desidero, the stimulus *the woman* carries out an action that causes a reaction in the experiencer *Mary* and *her son* respectively. According to Di Desidero, the difference between the two sentences is that in (108) the verb *fascinate* and other verbs from this class such as *amaze* and *delight* cannot be used in the imperative form, as shown in (110)-(112), but the verbs *comfort* and *amuse* can, as seen in (113)-(115).

(110) \*Fascinate her!

(111) \*/?Amaze her!

(112) \*Delight her!

(113) Comfort him!

(114) Amuse him!

(115) Frighten him! (Adapted from Di Desidero 1999)

Di Desidero argues that both kinds of verbs, *amaze* and *comfort*, unlike the non-agentive class of psych verbs (e.g., *depress*, *concern*) entail an action on part of the agent, but the reaction is more salient than the action with *fascinate*, *amaze*, and *delight*. With *comfort*,

*amuse*, and *frighten* the action on the part of the agent is more salient than the reaction of the experiencer.

While Di Desidero rightly points out that agency is an important factor to classify English r-psych verbs, one thing she fails to note is that the verbs in the agentive action salient class could have all three readings: a non-agentive reading as in (116) in which there is just the interpretation of a description of how music is something that is comforting/amusing/frightening to the person in general, an agentive reaction salient reading as in (117) in which at that moment the music that is playing is comforting/amusing/frightening to the person, and an agentive action salient reading as in (118) in which the person's sister is actively and deliberately comforting/amusing/frightening the person.

(116) Music comforts/amuse/frightens her.

(117) The music comforts/amuses/frightens her.

(118) Her sister comforts/amuses/frightens her. (Adapted from Di Desidero 1999)

She also does not mention that the verbs in the second agentive reaction salient class could have two readings: a non-agentive reading as in (119) in which music is something that fascinates/amazes/delights the person in general, and an agentive reading as in (120) in which at that moment the music that is playing/the person's sister is fascinating/amazing/delighting the person; and these sentences could never have an agentive action salient reading in which the music that is playing/the person's sister is deliberately fascinating/amazing/delighting the person.



(119) Music fascinates/amazes/delights her.

(120) The music/Her sister fascinates/amazes/delights her.

(Adapted from Di Desidero 1999)

Arad (1998), who also discusses English ObjExp psych verbs, differentiates between three readings based on the deliberateness of action by the agent and the change of state of the experiencer. She claims that there are three readings: an agentive reading, an eventive reading and a stative reading, as shown in (121)-(123) respectively.

(121) Nina frightened Laura deliberately / to make her go away.

(122) Nina frightened Laura unintentionally / accidentally. /The explosion / the noise / the thunderstorm frightened Laura.

(123) John / John's behavior / nuclear war frightens Nina. (Arad 1998, 2-4, p.3-4)

In (121), Arad claims the agent acts intentionally to produce a change of state in the experiencer and thus we get an agentive reading. In (122), there is an agent who acts involuntarily and not deliberately (or the causer *the explosion*, *the noise*, and *the thunderstorm* definitionally lack intent) and causes a change of state in the experiencer. This is what Arad calls the eventive reading. In (123) there is no agent, nor is there a change of state that occurs in the experiencer. Rather, there is only a perception of the stimulus by the experiencer, which results in a stative reading.

Combining Di Desidero's and Arad's analyses, there seems to be a hierarchy of sorts here, where a psych verb that allows for an agentive reading (e.g., *frighten*, *comfort*, *amuse*), could also be used to form an eventive and stative reading, a psych verb that allows for an eventive reading but not an agentive reading (e.g., *fascinate*, *amaze*,

*delight*) could also be used to form the stative reading, and a psych verb that allows for a stative meaning (e.g., *depress*, *concern*) can never have an agentive or eventive meaning. Conversely, Grafmiller (2013) initially classifies English r-psych verbs into two classes: (potentially) Agentive-OE verbs and Non-agentive-OE verbs. This corresponds to Di Desidero's two sub-classes of FRIGHTEN verbs respectively, that is, the (potentially) Agentive-OE verbs are *amuse*-verbs and the Non-agentive-OE verbs are the *amaze*-verbs. Grafmiller (2013) does not use the term agent and instead talks about "agentivity", which he considers a property of events. He defines an agentive event as one that "involves the willful control of the event by some participant" (Grafmiller 2013: 219). Under this definition Grafmiller includes events involving human agents (e.g., John, Mary), but not natural forces (e.g., the storm, the waves), nor machines, nor objects/projectiles in motion (e.g., a ball or the shoe that is thrown) since these latter three "are not capable of acting with purpose or intent" (Grafmiller 2013: 219). Grafmiller's definition of agency is similar to Di Desidero's, but crucially also includes context and general knowledge about the world. In particular he points out that context and general world knowledge play an important role in determining whether an action is agentive or not. Consider examples (124) and (125).

(124) Jason cut the ribbon.

(125) Jason cut his finger.

(Grafmiller 2013, 5.5 and 5.6, p.218)

In (124), the action is by default interpreted as agentive, while in (125) it is interpreted as non-agentive and accidental by our general world knowledge because the act of *cutting*

*the ribbon* is normally an action performed deliberately but the act of *cutting one's own finger* normally occurs as an accident. However, in context, if we know for example that John wanted to prove his courage and fearlessness and thus consciously performed the action described in (125), then the sentence can be interpreted as agentive, as in (126).

(126) Jason cut his finger in order to prove his courage and fearlessness.

For his analysis of English r-psych verbs, Grafmiller uses corpus data and suggests that the picture is more complex than described in Di Desidero and Arad's proposals. In (127)-(129), the *amaze*-verbs, classified as non-agentive by Di Desidero, were found in agentive contexts: (127) appears with the command imperative, (128) is found with as the complement of *convince*, and (129) occurs with a manner adverbial, all tests for agentivity.

(127) So please fascinate us with the amazing time you guys had while the rest of us slaved over math books.

(128) He wanted to play another one but we convinced him to amaze us with his "hand trick".

(129) Slick male foreigners talk funny to deliberately fascinate older women who don't know any better.

(Grafmiller 2013, 5.40e, 5.25a, 5.19b, p.239, 229, 225)

Grafmiller also shows contexts in which the subject is not animate and the verbs appear in agentive environments, as seen in (130) and (131) with the manner adverbials that test for agentivity.

(130) Some campaigns seek to deliberately horrify or titillate [sic], depending on your point of view.

(131) These songs of hopelessness intentionally horrify listeners.

(Grafmiller 2013, 5.20a, 5.20c, p.226)

Thus, Grafmiller differs from previous accounts and proposes that in English all r-psych verbs can appear in agentive contexts and what allows this is not just the verbs' lexical semantic structure but also context and general world knowledge. Grafmiller's work thus attempts to find a balance between the notion of word meaning being stable and context-independent, and the notion of word meaning relying heavily on the function of the utterance in context.

The previous research summarized here deals with agency, volition, and context in English r-psych verbs. Di Desidero and Arad both strongly claim that English r-psych verbs are highly sensitive to agentivity and volition, and can be classified based on these factors. Grafmiller has disputed this claim and proposes that in discourse, in fact, several manipulations of these features can be made and ultimately all r-psych verbs can appear in agentive contexts. This research, along with the findings from Vázquez Rozas (2006, 20012) and Miglio *et al* (2013), brings to our attention that Spanish r-psych verbs also need to be analyzed in terms of these same factors, and such an analysis could possibly shed more light on case-marking in Spanish r-psych verbs. Overall, given this ample base of research, in this dissertation I study the role of agency, volition and affectedness of object in case-marking in Spanish r-psych verbs, and determine the principles of this correlation between transitivity and case-marking in them.

### **2.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND OBJECTIVES**

As seen above, some previous literature has contributed to research on Spanish r-psych verbs by identifying important factors that determine the case of the experiencer argument: eventuality type and affectedness. The approach presented by Parodi & Luján (2000) and Ackerman & Moore (2001) is a contrastive one of state vs. event to account for case-marking in r-psych verbs. While it is a good start, the analysis presents a homogenous picture of the case-marking phenomenon. There are ambiguous cases where even though the sentence is eventive, dative case is selected for the argument and these sentences would be predicted to be ungrammatical under Parodi & Luján's and Ackerman & Moore's proposals. Other research in Spanish has hinted at the components of transitivity proposed by Hopper & Thompson (1980) as key to understanding the behavior of Spanish r-psych verbs. Literature on English psych verbs, in fact, specifically points to two components of transitivity — agency and volition — as important factors to classify r-psych verbs. In English, context has been suggested as relevant for an analysis of psych verbs. Yet, in Spanish, the questions remain: which lexical semantic properties of a given verb determine experiencer case-marking, and how these correlations arise. These are the questions I propose to answer here.

My first research question is whether a more thorough analysis of eventuality and its correlation with case-marking in r-psych verbs will clarify some of the ambiguity left open by previous research. Thus I investigate in more detail the correlation between case-marking and eventuality in r-psych verbs. I define the notions of state and event and

provide diagnostics to identify them. I then apply the diagnostics to r-psych verb corpus data, demonstrating in detail that eventuality alone is not enough to determine case-marking in r-psych verbs. I show that while there may be a correlation between states and dative case-marking, no (strong) correlation exists between events and accusative case-marking.

My next research question therefore is what other factors influence case-marking in r-psych verbs. In Chapter 4, I claim that of all the ten components of transitivity that Hopper & Thompson (1980) propose, the three relevant components that influence case-marking in r-psych verbs are agentivity, volitionality, and affectedness of the object. I define and provide tests for these three components. I then apply them to r-psych verb corpus data and demonstrate that r-psych verbs that can only mark their experiencer with dative case, i.e., Class II r-psych verbs (e.g., *gustar* ‘to like’, *encantar* ‘to really like’, *apetecer* ‘to fancy’), do not entail these components of transitivity, while r-psych verbs that can mark their experiencer with both dative and accusative case, i.e., Class III r-psych verbs (e.g., *molestar* ‘to bother’, *sorprender* ‘to surprise’, *asustar* ‘to frighten’), are compatible with these components. The findings support the Transitivity Hypothesis (Hopper & Thompson 1980) in that the dative case appears in predicates with lower transitivity and any increase in features of higher transitivity results in an increase in the possibility of the use of the accusative case, and a further increase in features of higher transitivity results in an exclusive use of the accusative case. The findings and the predictions made by the Transitivity Hypothesis indicate that r-psych verb sentences that are highly transitive and appear with accusative case-marking have several characteristics

of causative verbs. Notions such as agency, volition, and affectedness also appear with causative verbs (e.g., *romper* ‘to break’, *abrir* ‘to open’, etc.) (Bordelois 1988, Comrie 1989, Alsina 1992, Guasti 1992, Levin & Rappaport Hovav 2005, Song 1996, Holmes 1999, Dixon 2000, Shibatani 2002, Croft 2003, Wechsler 2005). Thus, I will show r-psych verbs that can have accusative case-marking are like other highly transitive causative verbs in several of the characteristics they exhibit. In conclusion, my objective is to account for case-marking in r-psych verbs from the point of view of transitivity and to identify and understand how specific components of transitivity determine case-marking in r-psych verbs.

### **Chapter 3: Case-marking and Eventualities**

In this chapter I investigate the correlation between case-marking and eventuality in reverse psychological verbs (r-psych verbs, henceforth). The organization of this chapter is as follows. I first define the notions of state and event and provide diagnostics to identify them in Section 3.1. Then, in Section 3.2, I apply the tests to Spanish r-psych verb predicates, and based on these findings I discuss the correlation between case-marking and eventuality in Spanish r-psych verbs. Specifically, I demonstrate that while there may be a correlation between states and dative case, no categorical correlation exists between events and accusative case. Eventive predicates can have both dative and accusative experiencers, and further inquiry into other factors is required to determine how case-marking works in Spanish r-psych verbs. In Section 3.3, I conclude with a summary of the observations made so far.

#### **3.1 STATES AND EVENTS**

State and events are two primary aspectual classes that can be traced back to Aristotle, and there has been much recent research on eventualities (Vendler 1967, Verkuyl 1972, Comrie 1976, Dowty 1986, Smith 1997; *inter alia*). Smith (1997) identifies five basic aspectual classes: states, accomplishments, achievements, activities, and semelfactives. In



(132) are some examples of Spanish verb constellations (a verb and its arguments) that belong to these different aspectual classes.<sup>34</sup>

- (132) **States:** *estar en el jardín* ‘to be in the garden’, *ser alto* ‘to be tall’, *parecerse a alguien* ‘to look like someone’, *saber la respuesta* ‘to know the answer’, *creer en brujería* ‘to believe in witchcraft’ etc.  
**Accomplishments:** *construir una casa* ‘to build a house’, *reparar el coche* ‘to repair the car’, *correr al parque* ‘to run to the park’, *comerse una manzana* ‘to eat an apple’ etc.  
**Achievements:** *darse cuenta del error* ‘to realize an error’, *llegar a la cumbre* ‘to reach the summit’, *descubrir la solución* ‘to discover the solution’ etc.  
**Activities:** *tocar la guitarra* ‘to play the guitar’, *correr en el parque* ‘to run in the park’, *reírse* ‘to laugh’, *montar en bicicleta* ‘to ride a bike’ etc.  
**Semelfactives:** *llamar a la puerta* ‘to knock on the door’, *parpadear* ‘to wink’, *toser* ‘to cough’ etc.

According to Smith, states do not involve any change and are characterized as non-dynamic. Smith defines states as “stable situations which hold for a moment or an interval. They have the temporal features [Static], [Durative].” (Smith 1997: 28). The examples she gives from English are *own a farm* and *be in Copenhagen*. The temporal schema she proposes for states is shown in (133).

- (133) Temporal schema for states  
 (I) ————— (F) (Smith 1997, 30, p.32)

In (133) the line represents the duration for which a state holds, reflecting that states do not “take time” (Smith 1997: 32). The initial (I) and final (F) points are in parenthesis because they are not part of the state. Thus states have no particular endpoints and do not

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<sup>34</sup> Levin & Rappaport Hovav present a more comprehensive list than Smith and therefore I choose to present their list here. Levin & Rappaport Hovav present the list in English which I have adapted to Spanish.

entail results. The entailment pattern Smith proposes to reflect the above is given in (134).

(134) Entailment pattern for states: When a state holds for an interval  
it holds for every sub-interval of that interval.  
(Smith 1997, 31, p.32)

In contrast, Smith defines events as “dynamic; they are continually subject to new input of energy” (Smith 1997: 19). She claims that all non-states are basically events. Smith’s definition includes four different types of events — accomplishments, achievements, activities and semelfactives. Given that the issue at hand in this chapter only requires a distinction between states and events, a detailed discussion of the different types of events is not necessary to this matter. I simply limit myself to explaining that the events are classified into four sub-classes (accomplishments, achievements, activities and semelfactives) in terms of telicity and punctuality.<sup>35</sup> What is pertinent for my analysis and discussion in this chapter is to be able to distinguish between states and events, which I turn to next.

### **3.1.1 Diagnostics for States and Events**

Smith (1997) proposed some tests for states in American English which include the ability to occur as imperatives, in the progressive viewpoint, with subject-oriented manner adverbials, etc. Smith adds that states generally fail these tests in American English. Smith does not imply that these tests are universal for all languages, and in fact points out that for every language the syntax for states and events must be investigated

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<sup>35</sup> These notions are discussed in Chapter 4, where transitivity is discussed.

separately. I will first show how some tests, such as the imperatives, subject-oriented manner adverbials, and progressive viewpoint, do not work consistently in Spanish and that we need different tests. I will adopt two diagnostics that work better in Spanish to distinguish states from events: the *acabar de* ‘to just have done something’ test, from Salaberry (2000), and the *ocurre/ocurrió que* ‘What happens/happened was X’ test, proposed by Vanhoe (2002). I modify both of these tests slightly in order for them to work as reliable diagnostics for states and events.

The imperative and the subject-oriented manner adverbial were both proposed early on as tests for statives when there was a misconception that states do not have agents. It was therefore argued that if a verb cannot be expressed as an imperative or with a subject-oriented manner modifier then that indicates that there is no agent and thus, that the predicate is (at least potentially) stative. However, Dowty (1979) pointed out that states can have agents. As seen in (135) and (136), the stative verbal predicates *to be still* and *to stand still* can be expressed as an imperative and with the subject-oriented manner adverbial *deliberately*, respectively.

(135) Be still!

(136) Nina deliberately stood still.

Thus both the imperative and the subject-oriented manner adverbial test have the same issue: they do not distinguish stative from eventive predicates; instead they identify whether the predicate requires an agent or not. The misconception has been questioned by many (see Levin & Rappaport Hovav 2000; *inter alia*). First, while it is true that many

stative verbs do not have agents, not all eventive verbs have agents. So any predicate that does not have an agent (whether stative or eventive) will not pass these tests. For example, the predicate in (137) has an eventive verb, yet it is unacceptable with a subject-oriented manner adverbial. Likewise, as shown in (138), the eventive verb *flow* cannot appear in the imperative.

(137) The vase broke (\*busily).

(138) \*Flow! (Context: Telling a river to flow.)

Both of these predicates, based on these two tests as traditionally understood, should be deemed statives, yet they are obviously not stative based on an intuitive understanding of the notion. What in fact these two tests demonstrate is that neither of these predicates has an agent, that is, neither *the vase* in (137) nor the implicit subject referring to the river in (138) are agents. Thus these tests are not valid to differentiate between stative and eventive predicates and cannot be used for this purpose.

The progressive viewpoint test in American English works on the basis that stative predicates cannot be expressed in the progressive and only eventive predicates can. The predicate in (139) with the stative verb *know* is unacceptable while the predicate in (140) with an eventive verb *read* in the progressive is acceptable, identifying them as a stative and an eventive respectively.

(139) \*I am knowing the answer.

(140) I am reading that book.

Although the progressive is suitable for identifying events, it often fails to identify states. For instance, in Spanish, there are some stative verbs that never occur in a progressive, as seen in (141) and (142) with the verb *saber* ‘to know’ and the verb *estar* ‘to be’.

(141) \**Estoy sabiendo el resultado.*  
 be.1SG know.GER the result  
 ‘I am knowing the result.’

(142) \**Estoy estando en Bogotá.*  
 be.1SG be.GER in Bogotá  
 ‘I am being in Bogotá.’

Salaberry (2000) notes though that this test does not work consistently to distinguish stative predicates from eventive ones in Spanish because statives in Spanish can be expressed in the progressive, as shown in (143) and (144).<sup>36</sup>

(143) *Estoy teniendo más problemas cada día.*  
 be.1SG have.GER more problems each day  
 ‘I am having more problems each day. (Salaberry 2000, p.31)

(144) *Estoy entendiendo el problema.*  
 be.1SG understand.GER the problem  
 ‘I am understanding (read:beginning to understand) the problem.

States can relatively easily appear in the progressive in Spanish because the predicate then allows a scalar progression reading, as seen in (143), where with the adverbial *más cada día* ‘more each day’ the predicate is acceptable. Many states allow for a scalar progression interpretation, as shown in (145) and (146).

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<sup>36</sup> In (12), the gloss and translation are mine since Salaberry (2000) does not provide them. The example is also not numbered in his book which is why there is no number in the reference.

- (145) *Estoy conociendo cada día mejor a Pedro*  
 be.1SG know.GER each day better to Pedro  
 ‘I am getting to know Pedro better each day.’

- (146) *Juliana está siendo más rebelde cada día.*  
 Juliana be.3SG be.GER more rebellious each day  
 ‘Juliana is being more rebellious each day.’

As long as a stative allows a scalar progression reading, it can appear in the progressive.

Very few stative verbs such as *estar* ‘to be’ and *saber* ‘to know/to find out’ cannot appear in the progressive since they cannot have a scalar progression reading, as seen in (147) and (148).

- (147) \**Estoy sabiendo el resultado cada día más/ mejor*  
 be.1SG know.GER the result each day more better  
 ‘I am knowing the result more/better each day.’

- (148) \**Estoy estando en Bogotá cada día más/ mejor*  
 be.1SG be.GER in Bogotá each day more better  
 ‘I am being in Bogotá each day more/better.’

Overall since many states can have a scalar progressive reading, the progressive test is not a reliable diagnostic to distinguish events from states.

The two diagnostics that work better at identifying eventualities are the *acabar de* ‘to just have done something’ test, from Salaberry (2000), and the *ocurre/ocurrió que* ‘What happens/happened was X’ test, proposed by Vanhoe (2002). Salaberry (2000) points out that the *acabar de* ‘to just have done something’ phrase makes reference to the end point of the event described and states do not have final points. He states that the *acabar de* ‘to just have done something’ test “successfully disqualifies statives because it

makes reference to the terminative boundary of the state” (Salaberry 2000: 31).<sup>37</sup> Therefore a state is not compatible with the *acabar de* ‘to just have done something’ phrase, as shown in (149), since it lacks a final point, as pointed out above. On the other hand, an event can readily be embedded under the same phrase, as shown in (150).

- (149) \**Juan acaba de saber la lección.*  
 Juan finish.3SG of know the lesson  
 ‘Juan has just known the lesson.’

- (150) *Juan acaba de estudiar la lección.*  
 Juan finish.3SG of study the lesson  
 ‘Juan has just studied the lesson.’ (Salaberry 2000, 6, p. 30)

However, some stative predicates do result in well-formed predicates when embedded under *acabar de* ‘to just have done something’. Nonetheless, I claim that in those cases there is a coerced eventive reading of the predicates and this is what allows them to be acceptable. For example, in (151), the verb *saber* takes on the eventive meaning of ‘to find out’ in (152), while the verb *conocer* takes on the eventive meaning of ‘to meet for the first time’.

- (151) *Juan acaba de saber el resultado.*  
 Juan finish.3SG of know the result  
 ‘Juan has just known the result.’ (Read: Juan just found out the result.)

- (152) *Juan acaba de conocer a María.*  
 Juan finish.3SG of know to María  
 ‘Juan has just known María.’ (Read: Juan just met María.)

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<sup>37</sup> This meaning is only applicable when the verb *acabar* ‘to just have done something’ is in present or imperfect. When used in the preterite, the verb *acabar* takes on the meaning of ‘to finish’ similar to *parar de* ‘to stop’, as in (i).

i. *Acabó de llover.*  
 finished.3SG of to.rain  
 ‘It finished raining.’

Other stative verb constellations, when embedded under *acabar de* ‘to just have done something’ result in a coerced inchoative reading that describes the inception of a state, such as *ser marido y mujer* which means ‘to be husband and wife’ becomes ‘to become husband and wife’, *comprender la situación* is coerced from ‘to understand the situation’ to ‘to come to understand the situation’, and *quedarse viudo* ‘to be left a widower’ is interpreted as ‘to become a widower’. These are shown in (153)-(155).

- (153) *Acaban de ser marido y mujer.*  
 finish.3SG of to.be husband and wife  
 ‘They became husband and wife.’

- (154) *Juan acaba de comprender la situación.*  
 Juan finish.3SG of understand the situation  
 ‘Juan has come to understand the situation.’

- (155) *Manuel acaba de quedarse viudo.*  
 Manuel finish.3SG of to.be.left widower  
 ‘Manuel became a widower.’

Another kind of interpretation that can occur is that of a paraphrase. For example, in (156) in the case of the verb *estar* ‘to be’ used for location, this verb is used in place of another verb such as *visitar* ‘to visit’ or *viajar* ‘to travel’. The meaning of the predicate is that ‘Juan was visiting/travelling to Bogotá recently’. This is not a coercion and is more similar to paraphrase or a metaphorical meaning.

- (156) *Juan acaba de estar en Bogotá.*  
 Juan finish.3SG of be in Bogotá  
 ‘Juan has just been in Bogotá.’ (Read: Juan was in/visited/travelled to Bogotá recently.)



Crucially, not all stative predicates can easily have a coerced reading. In (157), the verb *ser* or *estar* ‘to be’ is used with an adjective *alto* ‘tall’ and a coerced reading is very difficult to get.

- (157) \**Harry acaba de ser/estar alto.*  
 Harry finish.3SG of be tall  
 ‘Harry has just been tall.’

Perhaps if this predicate were in a Harry Potter book and Harry made himself tall magically, the predicate could be coerced into a reading where the magic wears off and Harry stops being tall, again referring to an endpoint of the event, but the need for such a highly particularized context is again indicative of coercion.

Thus, for stative predicates there are only two possibilities with the *acabar de* ‘to just have done something’ test, either they result in unacceptable predicates, as seen in (149) and (157), or they are coerced into a very particular type of eventive reading, as seen in (151) and (152). In order to use this test to distinguish between eventuality types, let us confirm that eventive predicates with the *acabar de* ‘to just have done something’ phrase are always acceptable and the reading is exactly what one predicts on a simple compositional account that each predicate describes being in the immediate post-state of the eventuality of the base predicate having been ongoing. In (158)-(161) are predicates with eventive verbs that are all acceptable with the *acabar de* ‘to just have done something’ phrase and do not require a coerced reading to be acceptable.

- (158) *Juan acaba de cantar una canción.*  
 Juan finish.3SG of sing a song  
 ‘Juan has just sung a song.’

- (159) *Juan acaba de construir una casa.*  
 Juan finish.3SG of sing a house  
 ‘Juan has just built a house.’
- (160) *Juan acaba de llegar a la cumbre.*  
 Juan finish.3SG of arrive at the peak  
 ‘Juan has just arrived at the peak.’
- (161) *Juan acaba de parpadear.*  
 Juan finish.3SG of wink  
 ‘Juan has just winked.’

Given that eventive predicates with the *acabar de* ‘to just have done something’ phrase are always acceptable and do not require a coerced reading to be acceptable, yet with statives the predicates are either unacceptable, or result in a coerced eventive or inchoative reading, the *acabar de* ‘to just have done something’ test can be used to differentiate between states and events. That is, with the *acabar de* ‘to just have done something’ test if the predicate is unacceptable or results in a coerced reading then the original predicate is stative.<sup>38</sup>

The other diagnostic I use to distinguish stative and eventive predicates is the *ocurre/ocurrió que* ‘What happens/happened was X’ test, proposed by Vanhoe (2002). Again, I modify this test slightly in order to use it. Vanhoe (2002) points out that the *ocurre/ocurrió que* ‘What happens/happened was X’ test makes reference to an event and

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<sup>38</sup> Vázquez Rozas (2006) mentions the *paró de* ‘stopped doing’ test from de Miguel (1999), which is similar to the *acabar de* ‘to just have done something’ test. However, the *paró de* ‘stopped doing’ test is not compatible with telic predicates, as shown in (i). Thus, I use the *acabar de* ‘to just have done something’ test here.

i. \**Pedro paró de comerse el pastel/ llegar a la cumbre.*  
 Pedro stopped.3SG of to.eat.up the pastry to.arrive at the peak  
 ‘Pedro stopped eating up the pastry/reaching the peak.’

therefore cannot be used with stative predicates. Thus, a stative predicate is not acceptable when embedded under *ocurre/ocurrió que* ‘What happens/happened was X’ phrase, as seen in (162) and (163), while an eventive predicate is acceptable, as shown in (164) and (165).<sup>39</sup>

(162) \**Ocurrió que la fruta estuvo verde*  
 occurred.3SG that the fruit was.3SG green  
 ‘What happened was that the fruit was unripe.’

(163) \**Ocurrió que fue ecologista.*  
 occurred.3SG that was.3SG ecologist  
 ‘What happened was that he was an ecologist.’

(164) *Ocurrió que la fruta maduró.*  
 occurred.3SG that the fruit ripened.3SG  
 ‘What happened was that the fruit ripened.’

(165) *Ocurrió que se volvió ecologista.*  
 occurred.3SG that REFL became.3SG ecologist  
 ‘What happened was that he became an ecologist.’

(Vanhoe 2002, 41a-d, p.151)

Nevertheless, as pointed out by Vanhoe (2002) the *ocurre/ocurrió que* ‘What happens/happened was X’ test is not absolute, since again many predicates can be coerced to have an eventive reading just by the use of the *ocurre/ocurrió que* ‘What happens/happened was X’ phrase, as seen in (166) where the coerced eventive reading is that of the eventive ‘finding out the answer’ and not the stative ‘knowing the answer’.

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<sup>39</sup> Vanhoe (2002) uses judgments from native speakers from Spain, but my Mexican Spanish informants had the same judgments on all of these predicates. Vanhoe’s dissertation is written in Spanish so he does not provide any glosses or translations. Any glosses or translations for examples from Vanhoe (2002) were written by me.

- (166) *Ocurrió que Max supo la respuesta.*  
 occurred.3SG that Max knew.3SG the answer  
 ‘What happened was that Max knew (Read: found out) the answer.’  
 (Vanhoe 2002, 42, p.152)

The same thing happens with other verbs such as *conocer* ‘to know’, as seen in (167), where it is coerced into an eventive reading of ‘meeting María for the first time’.

- (167) *Ocurre que Juan conoce a María.*  
 occurs.3SG that Juan knew.3SG to María  
 ‘What happens is that Juan meets María.’

In the case of the verb *estar* ‘to be’ used for location, as before, this verb is used in place of another verb such as *visitar* ‘to visit’ or *viajar* ‘to travel’. The meaning of the predicate in (168) is that ‘What happens is that Juan is visiting/travelling to Bogotá’. Similar to the use of the verb *estar* ‘to be’ in (156), this is similar to paraphrase or a metaphorical meaning; it is not coercion.

- (168) *Ocurre que Juan está en Bogotá.*  
 occurs.3SG that Juan is.3SG in Bogotá  
 ‘What happens is that Juan is in Bogotá.’

Therefore with the *ocurre/ocurrió que* ‘What happens/happened was X’ test for statives, as with the *acabar de* ‘to just have done something’ test, there are only two possibilities: either they result in unacceptable predicates, as seen in (162) and (163), or they are coerced into an eventive reading, as seen in (166)-(168).<sup>40</sup> In any case, Vanhoe also notes that even if the predicates (162) and (163) were acceptable, the interpretation of the

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<sup>40</sup> Note that verbs like *saber* ‘to know’ and *conocer* ‘to know’ in the perfective form already are eventive and the applying the *ocurre/ocurrió que* ‘What happens/happened was X’ test for them does not result in coercion or change of meaning. It is only when these verbs are used in the present or the imperfective that the *ocurre/ocurrió que* ‘What happens/happened was X’ test coerces an eventive change of meaning reading in them.

*ocurre/ocurrió que* ‘What happens/happened was X’ phrase is that of *se da la circunstancia de que* ‘the situation arises that’ or *la cosa es que* ‘the thing is that’. These two latter phrases have a pragmatic function, that of ‘drawing attention to’ or ‘adding an element of surprise or shock’, which is not the relevant interpretation of the *ocurre/ocurrió que* ‘What happens/happened was X’ phrase for identifying events. Rather, the interpretation we are looking for is the literal ‘an event happened’. Thus, there is a change in meaning, i.e., coercion, when the *ocurre/ocurrió que* ‘What happens/happened was X’ phrase is used with statives. This coercion is absent with eventive predicates since the reading with eventives is exactly that which is predicted on a simple compositional account that each predicate presents the occurrence of the event that the base predicate describes. In (169)-(172) are predicates with eventive verbs that are all acceptable with the *ocurre/ocurrió que* ‘What happens/happened was X’ phrase and do not require a coerced reading to be acceptable.

- (169) *Ocurre que Juan pinta la casa.*  
 occurs.3SG that Juan paints.3Sg the house  
 ‘What is happening is that Juan is painting/paints the house.’
- (170) *Ocurre que Juan repara el carro.*  
 occurred.3SG that of repairs.3SG the car  
 ‘What happened is that Juan is repairing/repairs the car.’
- (171) *Ocurrió que Juan descubrió la solución.*  
 occurred.3SG that Juan discovered.3SG the solution  
 ‘What happened is that Juan discovered the solution.’
- (172) *Ocurrió que Juan llamó a la puerta.*  
 occurred.3SG that Juan knocked.3SG at the door  
 ‘What is happening is that Juan knocked on the door.’

While the *ocurre/ocurrió que* ‘What happens/happened was X’ test is again not an absolute test, it is sufficient for present purposes because it presents enough of a contrast between stative and eventive predicates. Informants are able to distinguish between the coerced readings of predicates with stative predicates and the non-coerced readings of with eventive predicates quite easily and are able to paraphrase most coerced readings. For example, (173)-(176) starkly resist coerced readings and do not pass the *ocurre/ocurrió que* ‘What happens/happened was X’ test.

- (173) A: ¿*Qué* *ocurrió*?  
           *what* *happened.3SG*  
           ‘What happened?’  
       B: \**María* *es* *inteligente*  
           *María* *is.3SG* *intelligent.*  
           ‘*María* is intelligent.’
- (174) \**Ocurrió* *que* *María* *es* *inteligente.*  
       *Occurred.3SG* *that* *María* *is* *intelligent*  
       ‘What happened is that *María* is intelligent.’
- (175) A: ¿*Qué* *ocurrió*?  
           *what* *happened.3SG*  
           ‘What happened?’  
       B: \**Susana* *es* *abogada*  
           *Susana* *is.3SG* *lawyer.*  
           ‘*Susana* is a lawyer.’
- (176) \**Ocurrió* *que* *Susana* *es* *abogada.*  
       *Occurred.3SG* *that* *Susana* *is* *lawyer*  
       ‘What happened is that *Susana* is a lawyer.’

Conversely in (177) and (178) the stative verbs *estar* ‘to be’ and *saber* ‘to know’ are used and both predicates can be easily paraphrased via equivalent eventive expressions.

- (177) A: ¿*Qué* *ocurrió*?  
*what happened.3SG*  
 ‘What happened?’  
 B: ?*El presidente está de pie.*  
*the president is.3SG of foot*  
 ‘The president is standing.’

- (178) A: ¿*Qué* *ocurrió*?  
*what happened.3SG*  
 ‘What happened?’  
 B: ?*La profesora sabe la verdad.*  
*the teacher knows.3SG the truth*  
 ‘The teacher knows the truth.’

The predicates can be paraphrased as events, (177) as *El presidente se puso de pie* ‘The president stood up’, and (178) as *La profesora se enteró de la verdad* ‘The teacher found out the truth’.

Thus, based on the above examples, it is clear that eventive predicates require no coercion to be acceptable, as in (179), and statives predicates are acceptable on a coerced reading, as in (180), or are not acceptable at all, as in (181).

- (179) A: ¿*Qué* *ocurrió*?  
*what happened.3SG*  
 ‘What happened?’  
 B: *Juan rompió el vaso.*  
*Juan broke.3SG the glass*  
 ‘Juan broke the glass.’

- (180) A: ¿*Qué* *ocurrió*?  
*what happened.3SG*  
 ‘What happened?’  
 B: ?*La profesora sabe la verdad.*  
*the teacher knows.3SG the truth*  
 ‘The teacher knows the truth.’

- (181) \**Ocurrió que María es inteligente.*  
 Occurred.3SG that María is intelligent  
 ‘What happened is that María is intelligent’

Therefore it is sufficient to say that, for a predicate with the *ocurre/ocurrió que* ‘What happens/happened was X’ test, if the predicate is unacceptable or results in a coerced reading, then the predicate is stative. If the predicate is acceptable without the need for a coerced reading, then the predicate is eventive. Therefore the *ocurre/ocurrió que* ‘What happens/happened was X’ test can be used to differentiate between states and events.<sup>41</sup>

This kind of coerced reading has been noted in English as well. De Swart (1997) calls them ‘coerced/non-intended readings’. She explains that in order to distinguish states and processes from events one of the tests is the duration test *for x time* and the other is the *in x time* test. States and processes are acceptable when the *for x time* phrase is added to them and events are not, as shown in (182)-(184).

- (182) Susan lived in Paris for two years.

- (183) Andrew swam for three hours.

- (184) #Andrew drew a circle for three hours. (De Swart 1997, 3a-c, p.350)

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<sup>41</sup> Note that both of these tests also positively identify eventive predicates that do not have agents, unlike the imperative and the subject-oriented manner adverbial tests. In (i) and (ii) are eventive predicates without agents that are acceptable with both the *acabar de* ‘to just have done something’ test and the *ocurre/ocurrió que* ‘What happens/happened was X’ test.

- i. *El vaso acaba de romperse.*  
 the glass finish.3SG of break.REFL  
 ‘The glass just finished breaking.’ (Read: The glass just broke.)
- ii. *Ocurrió que el vaso se rompió.*  
 Occurred.3SG that the glass REFL broke.  
 ‘What happened was that the glass broke.’



Similarly, states and processes are not acceptable when the *in x time* phrase is added to them and events are, as shown in (185)-(187).

(185) #Susan lived in Paris in two years.

(186) #Andrew swam in three hours.

(187) Andrew drew a circle in ten minutes. (De Swart 1997, 4a-c, p.350)

Nevertheless, states can be coerced into events if they emphasize the starting point, as shown in (188), where the emphasis is on the starting point of the state of *knowing the answer*.

(188) Suddenly I knew the answer. (De Swart 1997, 20a and 20b, p.359)

On the basis of all of this, with the two tests that I use to distinguish between stative and eventive predicates, a similar kind of coercion occurs. The *acabar de* ‘to just have done something’ test and the *ocurre/ocurrió que* ‘What happens/happened was X’ test rely on states being coerced into events in order to function as reliable tests. I modified these tests from how they were previously used and I show that applying these tests to stative predicates results in the predicates either being unacceptable or acquiring a coerced eventive reading. This resultant coercion is exactly what identifies those predicates as stative. Eventive predicates with these tests do not exhibit any changed coerced reading.

### 3.2 CASE-MARKING AND EVENTUALITY IN R-PSYCH VERBS

In this section I apply the diagnostics for states and events outlined in the previous section to r-psych verbs in order to investigate the correlation between eventuality and case-marking in Class II and Class III Spanish r-psych verbs. I distinguish between stative and eventive readings in the two different classes of Spanish r-psych verbs, as shown in (189).

- (189) Class II: e.g., *gustar* ‘to like’, *encantar* ‘to really like’, *apetecer* ‘to fancy’  
Class III: e.g., *molestar* ‘to bother’, *sorprender* ‘to surprise’, *asustar* ‘to frighten’

Recall that it has been claimed that Class II r-psych verbs are aspectually stative and Class III are not necessarily stative, but can also be eventive as well (Parodi & Luján 2000, Ackerman & Moore 2001). If Class II r-psych verbs are stative, the claim has been that their experiencer argument will always be case-marked dative. On the other hand, since Class III r-psych verbs can be stative and eventive, the claim is that dative case-marking occurs only with stative predicates and accusative case-marking occurs only with eventive predicates. I will show that, in both Class II and Class III r-psych verbs, when the predicate is stative the case-marking is indeed dative. Nevertheless, when the predicate is eventive, the case-marking can be not only accusative but also dative. Therefore, the eventuality of the predicate is not sufficient to account for case-marking. In section 3.2.1 I discuss Class II and Class III r-psych verb predicates that are stative, and in section 3.2.2 I discuss Class III r-psych verb predicates that are eventive.

### 3.2.1 Stative Class II & III R-psych Verb Predicates and Case-marking

Applying the *acabar de* ‘to just have done something’ and the *ocurre/ocurrió que* ‘What happens/happened was X’ tests to Class II r-psych verbs (e.g, *gustar* ‘to like, *encantar* ‘to really like’, or *apetecer* ‘to fancy’), it is clear that these verbs are stative. In (190) and (191) are predicates with the Class II r-psych verbs *gustar* ‘to like’ and *apetecer* ‘to feel like’, respectively. When we add the *acabar de* ‘to just have done something’ phrase and the *ocurre/ocurrió que* ‘What happens/happened was X’ phrase to (190) and (191), as shown in (192) and (193) respectively, the resultant predicates are not acceptable.<sup>42</sup>

(190) *A mi mamá le gustaron mucho las alhajas.*  
to my mother CL.DAT like.3PL lot the jewels  
‘My mother liked jewels a lot.’ (CREA)

(191) *Le apeteció helado.*  
CL.DAT felt.like.3SG ice-cream  
‘He felt like (having) ice-cream.’

(192) \**A mi mamá le acaban de gustar mucho las alhajas.*  
to my mother CL.DAT finish.3PL of like lot the jewels  
‘My mother has just liked the jewels a lot.’

(193) \**Ocurrió que le apeteció helado.*  
Occurred.3SG that CL.DAT felt.like.3SG ice-cream  
‘What happened is that he felt like (having) ice-cream.’  
(Adapted from Vanhoe 2002, 85b, p.163)<sup>43</sup>

<sup>42</sup> I use both the diagnostics in the examples at random for expository purposes. These diagnostics do not give different results.

<sup>43</sup> Vanhoe (2002) does not restrict himself to 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular and plural clitics in his psych verb examples, and many of his examples have 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular and plural clitics. Since case is only visible in 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular and plural clitics I have modified his examples to use only 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular

This shows that (190) and (191) are stative.<sup>44</sup> Consider the predicate in (194) with the Class II r-psych verb *interesar* ‘to interest’; when modified with the phrase *ocurre/ocurrió que* ‘What happens/happened was X’, as in (195), the predicate is not acceptable.<sup>45</sup>

(194) *Le interesaron la poesía y la música.*  
 CL.DAT interested.3SG the poetry and the music  
 ‘Poetry and music interested him.’

(195) \**Ocurrió que le interesaron la poesía y la música.*  
 Occurred.3SG that CL.DAT interested.3SG the poetry and the music  
 ‘What happened is that poetry and music interested him.’

(Adapted from Vanhoe 2002, 93c, p.166)

Let us look at some other verbs that are Class II r-psych verbs: *agradar* ‘to please’ in (196) and *placer* ‘to please’ in (197). They also cannot appear embedded under the phrases *acabar de* ‘to just have done something’ or *ocurre/ocurrió que* ‘What happens/happened was X’, as shown in (198)-(201).

(196) *Le agradó mucho la lectura.*  
 CL.DAT pleased.3SG lot the reading  
 ‘Reading pleased her/him a lot.’

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and plural clitics. I note this modification by referencing it as ‘Adapted from Vanhoe’. See Chapter 1 for more on case and object clitics in Spanish.

<sup>44</sup> Some predicates in the corpus that appeared in the imperfect were modified to preterite after verifying that there was no significant change in meaning other than the shift in viewpoint aspect. There were not sufficient examples with the perfective in the corpora.

<sup>45</sup> Vanhoe uses Spanish native speakers for his judgments and they found the predicate questionable but not unacceptable. My informants, native speakers of Mexican Spanish, did not find the predicate acceptable with the strict meaning of something happening.

- (197) *Le           plació           aquella   soledad   de   su   valle   estrecho.*  
 CL.DAT   pleased.3SG   that       solitude   of   its   valley   narrow  
 ‘The solitude of its narrow valley pleased him.’ (CdE)
- (198) \**Le       acaba       de   agradar   mucho   la   lectura.*  
 CL.DAT   finish.3SG   of   to.please   lot       the   reading  
 ‘Reading has just pleased him.’
- (199) \**Ocurrió       que   le       agradó       mucho   la   lectura.*  
 happened.3SG   that   CL.DAT   pleased.3SG   lot       the   reading  
 ‘What happens is that reading pleases him a lot.’
- (200) \**Le       acaba       de   placer       aquella   soledad   de   su*  
 CL.DAT   finish.3SG   of   to.please   that       solitude   of   his  
*valle       estrecho.*  
 valley       narrow  
 ‘The solitude of his narrow valley has just pleased him.’
- (201) \**Ocurrió       que   le       plació       aquella   soledad   de*  
 happened.3SG   that   CL.DAT   pleased.3SG   that       solitude   of  
*su   valle   estrecho.*  
 his   valley   narrow  
 ‘What happened is that the solitude of his narrow valley pleased him.’

Notice in all the examples above (190)-(197) the experiencer is case-marked dative. This indicates that predicates with Class II r-psych verbs that can only take dative experiencers are never events. In other words, Class II r-psych verbs can only be states. There is a direct correlation between dative case-marking and states when Class II verbs are concerned.

Let us now look at Class III r-psych verb (e.g. *molestar* ‘to bother’, *sorprender* ‘to surprise’, *asustar* ‘to frighten’) predicates. Consider the predicate in (202) with the Class III r-psych verb *asustar* ‘to scare’. Embedded under the *acabar de* ‘to just have done

something' phrase, the predicate is not acceptable, as in (203). This shows that the predicate is stative.

- (202) *No le asustó el futuro.*  
 no CL.DAT scared.3SG the future  
 'The future did not scare him.' (CREA)

- (203) \**No le acabó de asustar el futuro.*  
 no CL.DAT finished.3SG of to.scare the future  
 'The future has not just scared him.'

The same is the case in the predicates in (209) and (205) with the Class III r-psych verb *molestar* 'to bother' and *aburrir* 'to bore', respectively. On modifying the predicates with the phrases *acabar de* 'to just have done something' or *ocurre/ocurrió que* 'What happens/happened was X', the predicates are not acceptable, indicating that these predicates are not eventive, as seen in (206)-(207) respectively.

- (204) *Le molestó el talón izquierdo, donde el fuerte*  
 CL.DAT bothered.3SG the heel left where the strong  
*cuero le había levantado una ampolla.*  
 leather CL.DAT had.3SG lifted a blister  
 'His left heel bothered him where the strong leather had given him a blister.' (CREA)

- (205) ...*le aburren las memorias de los demás.*  
 CL.DAT bore.3PL the memories of the rest  
 'The memories of others bore him.' (Adapted from Vanhoe 2002, 21a, p.75)

- (206) \**Le acabó de molestar el talón izquierdo, donde*  
 CL.DAT finished.3SG of to.bother the heel left where  
*el fuerte cuero le había levantado una ampolla.*  
 the strong leather CL.DAT had.3SG lifted a blister  
 'His left heel has just bothered him where the strong leather had given him a blister.'

- (207) \**Ocurrió que le molestó el talón izquierdo*  
 happened.3SG that CL.DAT bothered.3SG the heel left  
*donde el fuerte cuero le había levantado una*  
 where the strong leather CL.DAT had.3SG lifted a  
*ampolla.*  
 blister  
 ‘What happened was that his left heel bothered him where the strong leather  
 had given him a blister.’
- (208) \**Ocurre que le aburren las memorias de los*  
 happens.3SG that CL.DAT bore.3PL the memories of the  
*demás.*  
 rest  
 ‘What happens is that the memories of others bore him.’

In all of the examples above the experiencer is case-marked dative, reaffirming that the dative case can appear in stative contexts. The same predicates, when appearing with an accusative as seen in (209)-(211), were judged ill formed by my informants.

- (209) \**No lo asustaba el futuro.*  
 no CL.ACC scared.3SG the future  
 ‘The future did not scare him.’
- (210) \**Lo molestaba el talón izquierdo, donde el fuerte*  
 CL.ACC bothered.3SG the heel left where the strong  
*cuero le había levantado una ampolla.*  
 leather CL.DAT had.3SG lifted a blister  
 ‘His left heel bothered him where the strong leather had given him a  
 blister.’ (CREA)

- (211) \*...*lo aburren las memorias de los demás.*  
 CL.ACC bore.3PL the memories of the rest  
 ‘The memories of others bore him.’

To summarize this section, we have confirmed that, not only with Class II r-psych verbs but also with Class III r-psych verbs, dative case appears in stative contexts. From these results, there appears to be a correlation between dative case and states. However, we have to look at predicates that are eventive before drawing any conclusion on the relationship between case-marking and eventualities.

### 3.2.2 Eventive Class III r-psych verb predicates and Case-marking

Now we look at eventive Class III r-psych verb predicates with accusative case-marked experiencers; later, I consider dative case-marked experiencers. In (212) with the Class III r-psych verb *aburrir* ‘to bore’, embedding the predicate under *ocurre/ocurrió que* ‘What happens/happened was X’ results in an acceptable predicate with no coerced reading, as seen in (213).

- (212) *Como puedes ver, ya lo aburrimos.*  
 As can.2SG to.see already CL.ACC bored.2PL  
 ‘As you can see, we already bored him.’ (CREA)

- (213) *Como puedes ver, ocurrió que ya lo aburrimos.*  
 As can.2SG to.see happened.3SG that already CL.ACC  
 bored.2PL  
 ‘As you can see, what happened is that we already bored him.’

Observe (214) and (216), Class III r-psych verb predicates with the verbs *tranquilizar* ‘to calm’, *desconcertar* ‘to disconcert’, and *asustar* ‘to scare’, respectively, embedded under



the *ocurre/ocurrió que* ‘What happens/happened was X’ and the *acabar de* ‘to just have done something’ test, respectively, are acceptable, as seen in (217)-(221).

- (214) *La madre la acarició, la tranquilizó con*  
the mother CL.ACC caressed.3SG CL.ACC calmed.3SG with  
*palmaditas tiernas.*  
pats tender  
‘Her mother caressed her, calmed her down with tender pats.’ (CdE)
- (215) *Fue ésta, creo yo, la novedad que lo*  
was.3SG this believe.1SG I the novelty that CL.ACC  
*desconcertó.*  
disconcerted.3SG  
‘It was this, I think, the novelty that disconcerted him.’ (CREA)
- (216) *A las tres de la tarde, el trueno lo*  
At the three of the evening the thunder CL.ACC  
*asustó.*  
scared.3SG  
‘At three in the afternoon, thunder scared him.’ (Vanhoe 2002, 122, p. 173)
- (217) *Ocurrió que la madre la acarició, la*  
happened.3SG that the mother CL.ACC caressed.3SG CL.ACC  
*tranquilizó con palmaditas tiernas.*  
calmed.3SG with pats tender  
‘What happened was that her mother caressed her, calmed her down with tender pats.’
- (218) *La madre la acarició, la acabó de*  
the mother CL.ACC caressed.3SG CL.ACC finished.3SG of  
*tranquilizar con palmaditas tiernas.*  
to.calm with pats tender  
‘Her mother caressed her, and has just calmed her down with tender pats.’
- (219) *Ocurrió que la novedad lo*  
happened.3SG that the novelty CL.ACC  
*desconcertó.*  
disconcerted.3SG  
‘What happened was that the novelty disconcerted him.’

- (220) *Fue ésta, creo yo la novedad that lo*  
 was.3SG this believe.1SG I the novelty que CL.ACC  
*acabó de desconcertar.*  
 finished.3SG of disconcerted.3SG  
 ‘It was this, I think, the novelty that has just disconcerted him.’
- (221) *A las tres de la tarde, el trueno lo*  
 At the three of the evening the thunder CL.ACC  
*acabó de asustar.*  
 finished.3SG of to.scare  
 ‘At three in the afternoon, thunder had just scared him.’ (Read: Thunder had just scared him.)

In all the predicates from the corpora above (212)-(216), the experiencer is case-marked accusative. However an interesting observation is that my informants accepted some of these predicates with Class III r-psych verbs with a dative experiencer, as shown in (222) and (223).

- (222) *Fue ésta, creo yo, la novedad que le*  
 was.3SG this believe.1SG I the novelty that CL.DAT  
*desconcertó.*  
 disconcerted.3SG  
 ‘It was this, I think, the novelty that disconcerted him.’
- (223) *A las tres de la tarde, el trueno le*  
 At the three of the evening the thunder CL.DAT  
*asustó.*  
 scared.3SG  
 ‘At three in the afternoon, thunder scared him.’

The predicates in (222) and (223) are still eventive, as seen in (224)-(225), where they are acceptable when embedded under the *ocurre/ocurrió que* ‘What happens/happened was X’ and the *acabar de* ‘to just have done something’ test respectively.

- (224) *Ocurrió que la novedad le desconcertó.*  
 happened.3SG that the novelty CL.DAT disconcerted.3SG  
 ‘What happened was that the novelty disconcerted him.’
- (225) *A las tres de la tarde, el trueno le acabó de asustar.*  
 At the three of the evening the thunder CL.DAT  
 finished.3SG of to.scare  
 ‘At three in the afternoon, thunder had just scared him.’ (Read: Thunder had just scared him.)

This native speaker judgment suggests that eventive r-psych verb predicates may be compatible with not only accusative but also dative experiencers. In fact, this is confirmed by several predicates from the corpora with dative experiencers, as shown in (226)-(229), with the Class III r-psych verb *avergonzar* ‘to shame, *sorprender* ‘to surprise’, *disgustar* ‘to disgust’, and *fascinar* ‘to fascinate’.

- (226) *¡Cuánto le avergonzó ahora el deprimente recuerdo de aquella fuga desesperada a Roma!*  
 how.much CL.DAT/ACC shamed.3SG now the  
 depressing memory of that escape desperate to  
 Rome  
 ‘How much the depressing memory of that desperate escape to Rome shamed him!’ (CdE)
- (227) *A Graham le sorprendió la petición.*  
 to Graham CL.DAT surprised.3SG the petition  
 ‘The petition surprised Graham.’ (CREA)
- (228) *Y esto le disgustó no por pruritos morales.*  
 and this CL.DAT disgusted.3SG NEG for obsessions moral  
 ‘And this disgusted him not due to moral obsessions. (CREA)

- (229) *Al final de la clase principal, el maestro narra*  
 at-the end of the class principal the teacher narrates.3SG  
*todos los días una historia, un cuento o fragmento de*  
 every the days a story a story or fragment of  
*historias a los niños, quienes esperan con impaciencia,*  
 stories to the children who wait with impatience  
*ya que esta parte narrativa les fascina.*  
 already that this part narrative CL.DAT fascinate.3SG  
 ‘At the end of the main class, every day the teacher narrates a story, a short  
 tale or a fragment of stories to the children who impatiently wait since this  
 part fascinates them.’ (CdE)

Note that the predicates above with dative experiencers pass the diagnostics test for events, as shown in (230)-(233).

- (230) *Ocurrió que le avergonzó el*  
 happened.3SG that CL.DAT/ACC shamed.3SG the  
*deprimente recuerdo de aquella fuga desesperada a*  
 depressing memory of that escape desperate to  
*Roma.*  
 Rome  
 ‘What happened is that the depressing memory of that desperate escape to  
 Rome shamed him.’

- (231) *Ocurrió que a Graham le sorprendió la*  
 happened.3SG that to Graham CL.DAT surprised.3SG the  
*petición.*  
 petition  
 What happened was that the petition surprised Graham.

- (232) *Ocurrió que y esto le disgustó no por*  
 happened.3SG that and this CL.DAT disgusted.3SG NEG for  
*pruritos morales.*  
 obsessions moral  
 ‘What happened was that this disgusted him not due to moral obsessions.

- (233) *Ocurre que esta parte narrativa les fascina.*  
 happens.3SG that this part narrative CL.DAT fascinate.3SG  
 ‘What happens is that this narrative part fascinates them.’

For now we have seen that Class III r-psych verbs can have both dative and accusative case-marked experiencers even if the eventuality of the predicate is eventive. So overall, while experiencers in stative r-psych verb predicates must be case-marked dative and cannot be case-marked accusative, eventive predicates do not exhibit a categorical correlation to accusative case-marking.

### 3.3 CONCLUSION

In this chapter I demonstrated that the correlation between eventuality and case-marking in Spanish r-psych verbs is not strictly binary, as claimed by previous research. The data presented in this chapter indicate that while stative r-psych verb predicates always occur with the dative experiencer, the eventive counterparts occur not only with the accusative experiencer but also with the dative experiencer. Given that there is no categorical correlation between eventualities and case-marking, particularly with respect to events, the question still remains as to what factors really influence case-marking in r-psych verbs. I claim that it is certain components of transitivity — agentivity and affectedness of the object — that determine case-marking in r-psych verbs. I address this in detail in the next chapter.

## **Chapter 4: Transitivity and Case-marking in R-Psych Verbs**

In this chapter I postulate that certain components of transitivity proposed by Hopper & Thompson (1980) are key to case-marking in r-psych verbs. I propose an alternative analysis based on transitivity in order to account for case-marking with Class II and Class III r-psych verbs. I propose that, of all the ten components of transitivity that Hopper & Thompson posit, the three components relevant to case-marking in r-psych verbs are agentivity (with volitionality subsumed under it) and affectedness of the object. Specifically I claim that when the experiencer is marked with accusative case, one of or both these components are present in the interpretation of the predicate. I argue that, in contrast, when the experiencer is marked with dative case, there is a weakening or a lack of the features of agentivity and affectedness. This is discussed in detail throughout this chapter. I discuss the theoretical underpinnings of this analysis in Chapter 5.

The organization of this chapter is as follows. In Section 4.1 I review Hopper & Thompson's components of transitivity, and explain and justify the choice of these components of transitivity — agentivity and affectedness of the object — as relevant to case-marking in r-psych verbs. Furthermore, I define these notions and provide diagnostics for identifying them. In Section 4.2 I discuss agentivity and affectedness of the object in Spanish r-psych verbs as I apply the diagnostics to them. In Section 4.3 I propose an analysis of case-marking in Spanish r-psych verbs on the basis of the correlation between agentivity, affectedness of the object, and case-marking. Specifically, I claim that the accusative case requires one or both of these components of transitivity

and that the dative case occurs when there is a weakening or even a lack of these components.

#### 4.1 COMPONENTS OF TRANSITIVITY

Hopper & Thompson (1980) define transitivity as, “a global property of an entire clause, such that an activity is ‘carried-over’ or ‘transferred from an agent to a patient’”. Broadly speaking, transitivity is a property that clauses may have to a higher or lower degree depending on certain semantic features that they exhibit. These features, or ‘components’, the term that Hopper & Thompson 1980 use, relate in general to the transfer of action from an agent to a patient. Hopper & Thompson propose ten components of transitivity: *participants, kinesis, aspect, punctuality, volitionality, affirmation, mode, agency, affectedness of the object, and individuation of the object*, as seen in (234).

(234) **Hopper & Thompson’s (1980) Components of Transitivity**

	HIGH	LOW
A. Participants	2 or more participants	1 participants
B. Kinesis	action	non-action
C. Aspect	telic	atelic
D. Punctuality	punctual	non-punctual
E. Volitionality	volitional	non-volitional
F. Affirmation	affirmative	negative
G. Mode	realis	irrealis
H. Agency	A high in potency	A low in potency
I. Affectedness of O	O totally affected	O not affected
J. Individuation of O	O highly individuated	O non-individuated

(Hopper & Thompson 1980, 1, p.252)

A clause that has more components from the *high* column is considered more transitive than a clause that has fewer components from the high column. The component *participant*, for example, refers to whether a verb has two or more participants (higher in transitivity because transfer can take place between the participants) or only one participant (lower in transitivity because no transfer can take place). The sentence in (235) has only one participant, *Juan*, and it is analyzed as lower in transitivity when compared to the sentence in (236), where there are two participants, *Juan* and *la pelota* ‘the ball’; the sentence in (236) is higher in transitivity.

(235) *Juan corre.*  
 Juan runs.3SG  
 ‘Juan runs.’

(236) *Juan tira la pelota.*  
 Juan throws.3SG the ball  
 ‘Juan throws a ball.’

For studying r-psych verbs, the component *participants* is irrelevant since this dissertation is only concerned with two-participant verbs, the participants being the stimulus and the experiencer, as seen in (237) and (238).

(237) *Le asustan las arañas.*  
 CL.DAT scare.3PL the spiders  
 ‘Spiders scare him.’

(238) *Las arañas la/lo asustan.*  
 the spiders CL.ACC scare.3PL  
 ‘The spiders scare her/him.’

Similarly, *kinesis*, *aspect*, and *punctuality* all refer to eventuality. *Kinesis* refers to whether there is an action transferred between the participants. A clause with this



property must be eventive. States fall under the low transitivity column since they do not entail any transfer of action. *Aspect* deals with whether the clause is telic or atelic, that is, whether it has an inherent final endpoint. A clause that is telic is high in transitivity. *Punctuality* is whether the action has different stages or is complete in an instant. An action such as *building a house* is less punctual than *hitting the wall* and is thus less transitive. These components of *kinesis*, *aspect*, and *punctuality* do not affect case-marking in r-psych verbs; thus, I do not discuss them here.

*Affirmation* and *mode* also do not affect case-marking in r-psych verbs. Whether the sentence is affirmative or negative does not influence case, as shown in (239) and (240), where the dative case can be used irrespective of affirmation or negation.

- (239) (No) *Le asustan las arañas.*  
 NEG CL.DAT scare.3PL the spiders  
 ‘Spiders (do not) scare him.’

- (240) *Las arañas (no) la/lo asustan.*  
 the spiders NEG CL.ACC scare.3PL  
 ‘The spiders scare her/him.’

Similarly, *mode*, which codes realis or irrealis, does not affect case-marking. In (241) and (242) the clause is realis, as indicated by the indicative mood, and in (243) and (244) it is irrealis, indicated by the subjunctive mood. Yet the case-marking is the same in both clauses.

- (241) *Creo que le asustan las arañas.*  
 believe.1SG that CL.DAT scare.3PL the spiders  
 ‘I believe that spiders scare him.’

- (242) *Creo que las arañas la/lo asustan.*  
 believe.1SG that the spiders CL.ACC scare.3PL  
 ‘I believe that the spiders scare her/him.’
- (243) *No creo que le asusten las arañas.*  
 NEG believe.1SG that CL.DAT scare.3PL.SUBJ the spiders  
 ‘I don’t believe that spiders scare him.’
- (244) *No creo que las arañas la/lo asusten.*  
 NEG believe.1SG that the spiders CL.ACC scare.3PL.SUBJ  
 ‘I don’t believe that the spiders scare her/him.’

*Individuation* refers to whether the object is proper, human, animate, and concrete as opposed to common, inanimate, or abstract. It also refers to whether the object is a singular, count, referential, definite noun phrase versus a plural, mass, non-referential noun phrase. Any object that has the first set of properties such as *John* or *the boy* is more individuated than *rice* or *love* which is less individuated. Given that the objects of r-psych verbs are experiencers, they are generally human or at least always animate, and therefore highly individuated by this definition.<sup>46</sup> Thus, the component of *individuation of the object* can also be put aside.

The three components left therefore are agentivity, volitionality and affectedness. I subsume volitionality under my definition of agentivity. I postulate that these three components play a key role in case-marking in r-psych verbs. I discuss agentivity and volitionality in Section 4.2 and affectedness in Section 4.3. In both sections I first define the components at issue and provide diagnostics for them so that we can apply these tests to r-psych verb predicates and analyze them.

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<sup>46</sup> The experiencer can be an organization term, for example *el gobierno* ‘the government’, or a location, such as *el país* ‘the country’, which imply animacy since they are formed by people.

## 4.2 AGENTIVITY AND VOLITIONALITY

Before I discuss and provide definitions for the components of agentivity and volitionality, I briefly go over how they have been approached in the literature before I present my definition of agentivity. Agentivity and volitionality have also been discussed previously in the literature on r-psych verbs, specifically in English r-psych verbs (Grimshaw 1990, Baker 1988, Pesetsky 1987, 1990, Di Desidero 1999, Grafmiller 2013), Modern Greek (Anagnostopoulou 1999, Verhoeven 2009), and Italian (Belletti & Rizzi 1988, Arad 1998). As we have seen in Chapter 2, Di Desidero (1999) claims that some English r-psych verbs are highly sensitive to agentivity. She observes that verbs such as *amaze*, *horrify*, or *fascinate* cannot appear in agentive contexts, while other verbs like *amuse*, *confuse*, or *frighten* can. Grafmiller (2013) disputes this claim and instead argues that all English r-psych verbs can appear in agentive context if the larger discourse context allows it.

In general, the components of agentivity and volitionality have been treated as closely related in previous literature on agency. In most of the literature volitionality is subsumed under the definition of agentivity, although it has also been noted that volitionality need not necessarily be subsumed under agentivity (Cruse 1973, Grafmiller 2013). For example, Lyons (1977) defines an agent as an individual who “intentionally and responsibly uses its own force or energy, to bring about an event or to initiate a process” (Lyons 1977: 483). Given that the word ‘intentionally’ describes the action, according to Lyons’ definition, agentivity requires volitionality. Similarly, Di Desidero

(1999) defines agents as “animate participants which exercise intent, volition and control over the event of the verb” (Di Desidero 1999:100). Again, in their definition volition is assumed to be part of agentivity. Another definition that mentions volitionality is the one used by Grafmiller (2013), who defines an agentive event as one that “involves the willful control of the event by some participant” (Grafmiller 2013: 219). All these definitions assume that volition is an integral part of agentivity. However, consider the sentence in (245):

- (245) *En la fuente brota agua cristal.*  
           in the fountain flows.3SG water crystal  
           ‘Crystal water flows in the fountain.’

In (245) it is hard to argue that *agua* ‘the water’ acts intentionally, volitionally or that it has willful control over the action of flowing (cf. *\*En la fuente brota agua cristal deliberadamente* ‘Crystal water flows in the fountain deliberately’). However, as per Lyons’ definition, it can be argued that the water uses its own force or energy to bring about the event of flowing and then is a type of agent. But again, given that water is not animate, volitionality cannot be attributed to this action. Similarly, in (246) there is an action but it is not volitional.

- (246) *El niño rompió el vaso por accidente.*  
           the child broke.3SG the glass by accident  
           ‘The child accidentally broke the glass.’

In (246) *el niño* ‘the child’ does not intentionally, volitionally, or willfully do the action of breaking. According to the definitions seen thus far for agentivity, neither of the events in (245) or (246) is agentive. Yet, I consider both the sentences (245) and (246) to encode

agentivity. Beavers & Zubair's (2013) define agentivity as — “either action, volitionality or both” (Beavers & Zubair 2013: 24) based on a linguistically justified natural class which the *volitive mood* in Colloquial Sinhala encodes. Following Beavers & Zubair, I propose the following definition of agentivity in (247).

- (247) *Agentivity*: a predicate is agentive if there is an action performed by the subject and/or the predicate entails volitionality of the subject.

This definition for agentivity subsumes volitionality and includes (i) predicates in which there is an action performed by the subject and the predicate entails volitionality of the subject, as in (248); (ii) predicates in which there is an action performed by the subject but the predicate entails non-volitionality of the subject, as in (249); and (iii) predicates in which there is no action performed by the subject but the predicate entails volitionality of the subject, as in (250). Note that these three predicates are agentive by this definition.<sup>47</sup>

- (248) *Juan asesinó al camarero.*  
 Juan assassinated.3SG to-the waiter  
 ‘Juan assassinated the waiter.’

- (249) *El viento gélido sopla a través de las calles iluminadas.*  
 the wind icy blows.3SG at through of the streets  
 illuminated  
 ‘The icy wind blows through the illuminated streets.’

- (250) *La niña está siendo quieta a propósito.*  
 Juan sings.3SG is.3SG being still at purpose  
 ‘The child is deliberately being still.’

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<sup>47</sup> This distinction between action and volition is important for later on when we discuss r-psych verb predicates in which the subject does not perform any action and is not is volitional (See Section 4.4.1 and Chapter 5).

Since this definition places volitionality within agentivity, I first show in what contexts volitionality exists in Spanish, and then I define and provide diagnostics for volitionality in Section 4.2.1. I go on to explain the term ‘action’ that appears in the definition of agentivity, and provide a test for action in Section 4.2.2. With the definitions and diagnostics for volitionality and action we will be set to look at agentivity in r-psych verbs.

#### **4.2.1 Volitionality**

A volitional reading occurs when the event or state brought about by some participant is interpreted as intentional and willful. Cross-linguistically volition is marked in different ways. In some languages volition is expressed by case-marking, and in others by affixes, suffixes or prefixes, use of auxiliaries, etc. (Hogeweg 2010, LaPolla 2000, Tournadrc 1991, Beavers & Zubair 2013; *inter alia*). In Spanish there is no morphological marking of volitionality but there are three kinds of verbs that can be recognized with regards to volitionality: (i) verbs that require volitionality, i.e., they entail volitionality lexically; (ii) verbs that require non-volitionality, i.e., they cannot or at the very least highly resist a volitional interpretation lexically; and (iii) verbs that are unspecified, i.e., they are open to volitional or non-volitional interpretations. These three classes are illustrated in (251).

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| (251) (i) verbs that entail volitionality lexically: | <i>asesinar</i> ‘to intentionally kill’ <sup>48</sup> , <i>masacrar</i> ‘to massacre’, <i>inmolar</i> ‘to immolate’, <i>crucificar</i> ‘to crucify’ |
| (ii) verbs that resist volitional readings:          | <i>perder</i> ‘to lose’, <i>encontrar</i> ‘to find’, <i>nacer</i> ‘to be born’  |
| (iii) verbs that are open to volitional readings:    | <i>matar</i> ‘to kill’, <i>romper</i> ‘to break’, <i>tirar</i> ‘to throw’   |

The volitionality of a predicate can be tested in Spanish by assessing if the predicate can occur in contexts with adverbs that express volition. Some adverbs and adverbial phrases such as *deliberadamente* ‘deliberately’, *a propósito* ‘on purpose’, *por propia voluntad* ‘by his own will’, and *voluntariamente* ‘voluntarily’ entail that there is volition involved in the action and function as good tests for volitionality. Similarly *de mala gana* ‘reluctantly’, *a regañadientes* ‘unwillingly’, and *con pocas ganas* ‘with little interest’ are adverbial phrases that entail volition, and thus also test for volitionality.<sup>49</sup> On the other hand, some adverbial phrases entail non-volitionality, such as *accidentalmente* ‘accidentally’, *por casualidad* ‘by chance’ and *por error* ‘by mistake’. If a predicate cannot occur with any of these adverbs then the predicate necessarily has a volitional reading. Note that with verbs that entail volitionality lexically, such as *asesinar* ‘to assassinate’, it sounds strange pragmatically to use the adverb *deliberadamente*

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<sup>48</sup> In Spanish *asesinar* does not mean ‘to assassinate’, which in English implies a famous or important person’s murder. In Spanish *asesinar* means ‘to kill intentionally/murder’ and some people even accept it with animals as patients in Spanish, as in *Juan asesinó al gato* ‘Juan killed the cat.’ This use is not strongly supported though. I use the ‘intentionally kill’ meaning here because it is more convenient for illustrating my point. In the glosses I simply use ‘kill’ for this verb.

<sup>49</sup> I am only concerned with whether a volitional reading is possible or not, and I am not measuring degrees of volitionality. Nevertheless, volitionality could be measured on a scale. Some adverbs such as *deliberadamente* ‘deliberately’ would entail higher degrees of volitionality as compared to *por propia voluntad* ‘by his own will’; while in turn *por propia voluntad* ‘by his own will’ would entail more degrees of volitionality as compared to *de mala gana* ‘reluctantly’, and *de mala gana* ‘reluctantly’ would entail more degrees of volitionality as compared to *accidentalmente* ‘accidentally’.

‘deliberately’, or the adverbial phrase like *a propósito* ‘on purpose’, as shown in (252), precisely because the action entailed by the verb is inherently deliberate.

- (252) ?*Juan asesinó a María deliberadamente/ a propósito.*  
Juan killed.3SG to María deliberately to purpose  
?‘Juan deliberately killed Mary/ Juan assassinated Mary on purpose.’

The verb *asesinar* ‘to intentionally kill’, however, can be used with *de mala gana* ‘reluctantly’, as seen in (253).

- (253) *Juan asesinó a María de mala gana.*  
Juan killed.3SG to María of bad appetite  
‘Juan reluctantly killed Mary.’

What is crucial here is, however, that *asesinar* ‘to intentionally kill’ cannot co-occur with the adverbial with the adverbial phrase *accidentalmente* ‘accidentally’, as shown in (254), and thus must entail volitionality lexically.

- (254) \**Juan asesinó a María accidentalmente.*  
Juan killed.3SG to María accidentally  
‘Juan accidentally killed Mary.’

There are also verbs in Spanish that entail non-volitionality lexically, or at the very least highly resist it. Consider *perder* ‘to lose’ and *encontrar* ‘to find’. In contrast to *asesinar* ‘to assassinate’, *perder* and *encontrar* can appear readily in non-volitional contexts, as seen in (255) and (256) respectively with the adverbial phrase *accidentalmente* ‘accidentally’.

- (255) *Juan perdió las llaves accidentalmente*  
Juan lost.3SG the keys accidentally  
‘Juan accidentally lost the keys.’



- (256) *Juan encontró las llaves accidentalmente.*  
 Juan found.3SG the keys accidentally  
 ‘Juan accidentally found the keys.’

Nevertheless, with verbs like *perder* ‘to lose’ and *encontrar* ‘to find’ strongly resist the co-occurrence with adverbs that entail volitionality such as *deliberadamente* ‘deliberately’ or *a propósito* ‘on purpose’, as seen in (257) and (258) respectively.<sup>50</sup>

- (257) ?*Juan perdió las llaves deliberadamente/ a propósito.*  
 Juan lost.3SG the keys deliberately to purpose  
 ?‘Juan deliberately lost the keys./Juan lost the keys on purpose.’

- (258) ?*Juan encontró las llaves deliberadamente/ a propósito*  
 Juan found.3SG the keys deliberately to purpose  
 ?‘Juan deliberately found the keys./ Juan found the keys on purpose’

Most verbs in Spanish do not entail volitionality or non-volitionality lexically, and thus are unspecified for volitionality. They include verbs such as *matar* ‘to kill’, *romper* ‘to break’, and *tirar* ‘to throw’, which can appear in both volitional and non-volitional contexts. These verbs are acceptable both with volitional adverbials such as *deliberadamente* ‘deliberately’ and *a propósito* ‘on purpose’, both of which entail volitionality, as shown in (259)-(261), as well as with a non-volitional adverbial such as

<sup>50</sup> The verbs *perder* ‘to lose’ could be used with *a propósito* ‘on purpose’ or with the verb *decidir* ‘to decide’ (which requires volition on part of the subject) but it acquires a purposive reading, as seen in (i).

(1) *Perdió las llaves a propósito para poder hablar con la chica que le gustaba.*  
 lost.3SG the keys to purpose for to.be.able to.talk with the girl that CL.DAT liked.3SG  
 ‘He deliberately lost the keys so that he could go talk to the girl he was interested in.’

In (i) the purposive reading is that he lost the keys in order to go to the lost and found department to talk to the girl he was interested in. (i) can be paraphrased as ‘He acted as though he had lost his keys so that he could go talk to the girl he was interested in.’ The action was faked and thus no “losing” action actually takes place. The purposive reading can also be available with a verb like *morir* ‘to die’, as seen in (ii). However, I set purposives aside for the purposes of this dissertation.

(2) *Ella murió para absolver a la gente de sus pecados.*  
 she died.3SG for to.absolve to the people of their sins  
 ‘She died in order to absolve the people of their sins.’

*accidentalmente* ‘accidentally’, which does not entail volitionality, as shown in (262)-(264).

- (259) *Juan mató a María deliberadamente/ a propósito.*  
Juan killed.3SG a María deliberately to purpose  
‘Juan deliberately killed María./Juan killed María on purpose.’
- (260) *Juan rompió el vaso deliberadamente/ a propósito.*  
Juan broke.3SG the glass deliberately to purpose  
‘Juan deliberately broke the glass./Juan broke the glass on purpose.’
- (261) *Juan tiró el vaso deliberadamente /a propósito.*  
Juan threw.3SG the glass deliberately to purpose  
‘Juan deliberately threw the glass/Juan threw the glass on purpose.’
- (262) *Juan mató a María accidentalmente.*  
Juan killed.3SG to María accidentally  
‘Juan accidentally killed Mary.’
- (263) *Juan rompió el vaso accidentalmente*  
Juan broke.3SG the glass accidentally  
‘Juan accidentally broke the glass.’
- (264) *Juan tiró el vaso accidentalmente.*  
Juan threw.3SG the glass accidentally  
‘Juan accidentally threw away the glass.’

In this section, I have shown that in Spanish there are verb class distinctions based on volitionality: some verbs entail volitionality lexically while others entail non-volitionality, and yet others are open to interpretations of volitionality. I have also proposed diagnostics for volitionality. Let us now look at the definition and some diagnostics for action in the next section.

#### 4.2.2 Action

I propose that action is entailed in a sentence when there is a participant that is doing something. Action differs from event because an event need not have a participant who is acting, whereas action requires a participant. For example, compare the two sentences in (265) and (266). Note that both sentences are eventive given that they pass the *ocurre/ocurrió que* ‘What happens/happened was X’ test, as seen in (267) and (268), respectively.<sup>51</sup>

(265) *Se rompió el vaso.*  
INCH broke.3SG the glass  
‘The glass broke.’

(266) *El niño rompió el vaso.*  
the boy broke.3SG the glass  
‘The boy broke the glass.’

(267) *Ocurrió que se rompió el vaso.*  
happened.3SG that INCH broke.3SG the glass  
‘What happened was that the glass broke.’

(268) *Ocurrió que el niño rompió el vaso.*  
happened.3SG that the boy broke.3SG the glass  
‘What happened was that the boy broke the glass.’

However only the sentence in (266) has a subject that performs an action because there is a participant, *el niño* ‘the child’, that has done something. The sentence in (265) does not encode action because it lacks such a participant. I define the participant that does something or takes an action as an agent.

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<sup>51</sup> As discussed in Chapter 3, the *ocurre/ocurrió que* ‘What happens/happened was X’ test, proposed by Vanhoe (2002), identifies events.

The test I propose to identify action entailed in a predicate is the conjunction of *y X lo hace/hizo + modifier* 'and X does/did it + modifier' test. Different modifiers such as *apasionadamente* 'passionately', *apuradamente* 'hurriedly', *frenéticamente* 'frenetically', or *suavemente* 'softly' can be used. These modifiers describe the manner in which the agent is engaged in the action and thus if the conjunction of the predicate is acceptable then the predicate entails that there is a participant that is engaged in an action. Testing the sentences above, we see that (265) does not pass the test and results in an unacceptable sentence, as seen in (269).

- (269) \**Se rompió el vaso y lo hizo frenéticamente.*  
 INCH broke.3SG the glass and CL.ACC did.3SG frantically  
 'The glass broke and it did so frantically.'

The sentence in (266), on the other hand, passes the test and results in an acceptable sentence, as in (270).

- (270) *El niño rompió el vaso y lo hizo frenéticamente.*  
 the child broke.3SG the glass and CL.ACC did.3SG  
 frantically  
 'The child broke the glass and he did it frantically.'

Observe the sentence in (271). This sentence has a subject that performs an action, as shown in (272), where the sentence is acceptable with the *y X lo hace/hizo + modifier* 'and X does/did it + modifier' test, however the subject, given that it is inanimate, does not act volitionally, as shown in (273), where the sentence is incompatible with the adverbial phrase *deliberadamente* 'deliberately'.

(271) *En la fuente brota agua cristal.*  
 in the fountain flows.3SG water crystal  
 ‘Crystal water flows in the fountain.’

(272) *En la fuente brota agua cristal y lo*  
 in the fountain flows.3SG water crystal and CL.ACC  
*hace suavemente.*  
 does.3SG softly  
 ‘Crystal water flows in the fountain and it does so softly.’

(273) *En la fuente \*deliberadamente brota agua cristal.*  
 in the fountain deliberately flows.3SG water crystal  
 ‘Crystal water deliberately flows in the fountain.’

The important point to stress here again is that not all events invoke action. For example, with a verb like *olvidar* ‘to forget’, the sentence in (274) is eventive since it passes the *ocurre/ocurrió que* ‘What happens/happened was X’ test, as in (275). The sentence in (276) however does not invoke action, e.g., it does not pass the *y X lo hace/hizo + modifier* ‘and X does/did it + modifier’ test.

(274) *Juan olvidó su nombre.*  
 Juan forgot.3SG her name  
 ‘Juan forgot her name.’

(275) *Ocurrió que Juan olvidó su nombre.*  
 happened.3SG that Juan forgot her name  
 ‘What happened was that Juan forgot her name.’

(276) *\*Juan olvidó su nombre y lo hizo*  
 Juan forgot her name and CL.ACC did.3SG  
*apasionadamente.*  
 passionately  
 ‘Juan forgot her name and he did so passionately.’

Note that negated sentences such as the one in (277) do not pass the *y X lo hace/hizo + modifier* 'and X does/did it + modifier' test, as shown in (278), and therefore does not express action.

(277) *Juan no rompió el vaso.*  
 Juan NEG broke.3Sg the glass  
 'Juan did not break the glass.'

(278) \**Juan no rompió el vaso y lo hizo laboriosamente.*  
 Juan NEG broke.3Sg the glass and CL.ACC did  
 laboriously  
 'Juan did not break the glass and he did it laboriously.'

In this section I have defined and provided a diagnostic for action and in the previous section I defined and provided tests for volition. Now let us recall to the definition I propose for agentivity, repeated in (279).

(279) *Agentivity*: a predicate is agentive if there is an action performed by the subject and/or the predicate entails volitionality of the subject.

Thus expressed in table form in (280), the only sentences that are not interpreted as having agentive participants according to the definition used here are the sentences that entail neither volitionality of the subject nor action on part of the subject, that is [no volition, no action].

(280) *Agentivity*

	volition	no volition
action	✓	✓
no action	✓	✗

For example, the sentences in (281) and (282) entail volitionality of the subject and also that the subject performs an action (volition, action) and thus are agentive.

(281) *Juan asesinó al camarero.*  
 Juan assassinated.3SG to-the waiter  
 ‘Juan assassinated the waiter.’

(282) *Pedro preparó el desayuno.*  
 Pedro prepared.3SG the breakfast  
 ‘Pedro prepared breakfast.’

In (283) and (284) the predicates entail non-volitionality of the subject but the subject performs an action (no volition, action), and they are agentive.

(283) *José rompió el espejo accidentalmente.*  
 José broke.3SG the mirror accidentally  
 ‘José accidentally broke the mirror.’

(284) *El viento gélido sopla a través de las calles iluminadas.*  
 the wind icy blows.3SG at through of the streets  
 illuminated  
 ‘The icy wind blows through the illuminated streets.’

The predicates in (285) and (286) have subjects that do not perform an action but they entail volitionality of the subject (volition, no action), and they are agentive.

(285) *Teresa deliberadamente no se movió.*  
 Teresa deliberately no REFL moved.3SG  
 ‘Teresa deliberately did not move.’

(286) *La niña está siendo quieta a propósito*  
 Juan sings.3SG is.3SG being still at purpose  
 ‘The child is deliberately being still.’

Finally, the predicates in (287) and (288) have subject that perform no action, and entail non-volitionality of the subject ( no volition, no action), and thus they are not agentive.

- (287) *Juan sabe tamizh.*  
 Juan knows.3SG Tamizh  
 ‘Juan knows Tamizh.’
- (288) *Se rompió el vaso.*  
 INCH broke.3SG the glass  
 ‘The glass broke.’

This last case is the only instance in which the predicate is not agentive. Now that we have diagnostics for agentivity, these can be applied to Spanish r-psych verb predicates. Let us move on to the component of affectedness of the object.

### 4.3 AFFECTEDNESS OF THE OBJECT

In this section I discuss affectedness. First, I briefly go over how affectedness of the object has been approached in the literature. I then define the notion of affectedness, and explain my approach to affectedness and provide diagnostics for it. Affectedness has been addressed in a number of works (Fillmore 1968, Anderson 1971, Hopper & Thompson 1980, Jackendoff 1990, Dowty 1991, Tenny 1992, Ackerman & Moore 1999, Beavers 2011; *inter alia*). As seen in Chapter 2, discussions of affectedness in Spanish r-psych verbs in particular appear with the claim that affectedness of the object correlates directly to case-marking, i.e., dative experiencers are not affected while accusative experiencer are affected (Parodi & Luján 2000, Ackerman & Moore 2001). While most researchers use the term ‘affectedness’ intuitively, there are some researchers who have attempted to more precisely define the term (Anderson 1979, Beavers 2011). Anderson states that “an object is affected if it is changed, moved, created or exposed by the verb”



(cf. Anderson 1979: 43-45). In this definition, affected is synonymous to “changed”. Beavers (2011) argues that there exist many different types of changes, such as motion, change-of-state, creation/consumption etc. In agreement with Anderson that affectedness is related to change, and following Beavers regarding different types of changes, for the purpose of analyzing r-psych verbs, I define affectedness as a change — temporary or permanent, mental or physical —in the object.<sup>52</sup>

Moving on to the diagnostics for affectedness, a construction that can be used to test for affectedness in Spanish is the conjunction of *quedar* + *adjectival participle* + *por x tiempo* ‘to remain’ + adjectival participle + for x time’ (e.g., *quedó roto/destruido por*

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<sup>52</sup> For psych verbs it would be interesting to discuss the kind of change that occurs, since the change can be temporary and mental. For example, in (i), with a verb like *romper* ‘to break’, the object *el vaso* ‘the glass’ undergoes a permanent change, permanent in the sense that the state persists after the event, though it can in some cases be undone in a subsequent event.

- (i) *Juan rompió el vaso*  
 Juan broke.3SG the glass  
 ‘Juan broke the glass.’

In contrast, in (ii), with a verb like *limpiar* ‘to clean’, the change that occurs in the object *la mesa* ‘the table’ is a comparatively more temporary change because the table need not remain clean forever, i.e., while the state persists after the event it is more easily undone in a subsequent event than the state that persists in (i).

- (ii) *Juan limpió la mesa.*  
 Juan cleaned.3SG the table  
 ‘Juan cleaned the table.’

This difference is important in a discussion of affectedness in r-psych verbs where we deal with a temporary and mental change, which is very different from a permanent physical change. Beavers (2011) argues that there exist many different types of changes, such as motion, change-of-state, creation/consumption etc. He proposes an Affectedness Hierarchy to accommodate the various degrees of affectedness as a hierarchy of monotonically weakening truth conditions. For this dissertation, I put aside what kind of affectedness is encoded in different Spanish r-psych verbs and am only interested in whether affectedness is encoded or not in Spanish r-psych verbs and the correlation between affectedness and case-marking.

*unos días* ‘remained broken/destroyed for a couple of days’).<sup>53</sup> If the verb, when expressed as an adjectival participle with the *quedar* construction, is acceptable, this indicates that the object is affected. For example, the sentence in (289) can be modified, as in (290), which is acceptable. This indicates that the object is affected.<sup>54</sup>

- (289) *Juan rompió el vaso*  
 Juan broke.3SG the glass  
 ‘Juan broke the glass.’

- (290) *Juan rompió el vaso (y el vaso quedó roto por años.*  
 Juan broke.3SG the glass and the glass remained.3SG broken  
 for years  
 ‘Juan broke the glass and the glass remained broken for years.’

Similarly in (291) and (292), there are changes in the objects and thus the sentences encode affectedness of the object, corresponding again to the acceptability of the *quedar* construction.

- (291) *Tomás pintó la habitación (y la habitación quedó pintada por unos años).*  
 Tomás painted.3SG the bedroom and the bedroom  
 remained.3SG painted for some years.  
 ‘Tomás painted the bedroom and the bedroom remained painted for some years.’

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<sup>53</sup> When the *quedar* construction is used in the preterite it can take on two readings — ‘to become’ and ‘to remain’. In order to force the reading of ‘to remain’ I use the durative adverbial for the test.

<sup>54</sup> Note that the test specifically uses the adjectival participle *quedó roto* ‘remained broken’ and not the past participle *ha roto* ‘has broken’ nor the adjectival passive *es roto por* ‘is broken by’. This is because verbs like *mirar* ‘to look’, which intuitively do not encode affectedness, can work as a past participle *ha mirado* ‘has watched’ or the adjectival passive *es mirada por* ‘is watched by’ but not as an adjectival participle \**quedó mirado* ‘remained watched’. Also note that for some verbs such as *molestar* ‘to bother’ and *tranquilizar* ‘to calm down’ the participle is not *molestado* nor *tranquilizado* but *molesto* and *tranquilo*.

- (292) *Abrieron la ventana (y la ventana quedó  
 opened.3PL the window and the window remained.3SG  
 abierta por un rato).*  
 open for a while  
 ‘They opened the window and the window remained open for a  
 while.’

In contrast, the predicates in (293)-(295) are not acceptable at all with the *quedar* + *adjectival participle* + *por x tiempo* ‘to remain’ + *adjectival participle* + *for x time*’ test, and in this case the objects are clearly not affected.<sup>55</sup>

- (293) *Jorge miró la tele (\*y la tele quedó  
 Tomás watched.3SG the T.V. and the T.V. remained.3SG  
 mirada por un rato).*  
 watched for a while  
 ‘Jorge watched T.V. and the T.V. remained watched for a while.’

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<sup>55</sup> While I choose to use the *quedar* test for this dissertation, because it works well in Spanish, there is another test that can be used to determine affectedness of the object. It is the  $\phi$ , and *still*  $\psi$  entailment test where the predicate  $\phi$  entails a change of state  $\psi$  in the object  $x$  and when the phrase *and still*  $\psi$  is added to the sentence, if the object is affected it results in an acceptable sentence (Kratzer 2004, Beavers 2011). For example, in (i) the predicate *romper* ‘to break’ entails a change of state *roto* ‘broken’ in the object *el vaso* ‘the glass’.

- (i) *Juan rompió el vaso*  
 Juan broke.3SG the glass

‘Juan broke the glass.’

Applying the entailment test  $\phi$ , and  $\psi$  to the previous sentence we see in (ii) that since the sentence is acceptable, the object is affected.

- (ii) *Juan rompió el vaso y el vaso todavía está roto.*  
 Juan broke.3SG the glass and the glass still is.3SG broken

‘Juan broke the glass and the glass is still broken.’

In contrast the sentence in (iii), fails the  $\phi$ , and  $\psi$  entailment test and thus the object is not affected.

- (iii) *Jorge miró la tele (\*y la tele todavía está mirada).*  
 Tomás watched.3SG the t.v. and the T.V. still is.3SG watched

‘Jorge watched t.v. and the T.V. is still watched.’

- (294) *César leyó un libro (\*y el libro quedó*  
*César read.3SG a book and the book remained.3SG*  
*leído por un rato).*  
*read for a while*  
 ‘César read a book and the book remained read for a while.’
- (295) *Seguí la luz (\*y la luz quedó*  
*follow.1SG the light and the light remained.3SG*  
*seguida por media hora).*  
*followed for half hour*  
 ‘I followed the light and the light remained followed for half an hour.’

Now that the diagnostics for agentivity and affectedness have been established, I will apply them to Spanish r-psych verb predicates. I will show in the next section how the components of agentivity and affectedness are correlated to object case-marking in Spanish r-psych verbs. In particular, I show that the dative case-marking has fewer semantic features than accusative case. That is, for accusative case-marking the features of agentivity and/or affectedness of the object are required, whereas for dative case-marking there can be a weakening or lack of these components.

#### 4.4 TRANSITIVITY IN SPANISH R-PSYCH VERBS

In this section I apply the diagnostics to r-psych verbs in order to investigate agentivity and affectedness of the object in Class II and Class III Spanish r-psych verb predicates. First, in Section 4.2.1, I discuss agentivity, and then, in Section 4.2.2, I elaborate on affectedness of the object in these two classes of Spanish r-psych verbs.

#### 4.4.1 Agentivity

Now let us look at agentivity with regards to the two classes of Spanish r-psych verbs according to the definition just established in the previous section. Some examples of the two classes of r-psych verbs are given in (296).

- (296) Class II: e.g. *gustar* ‘to like’, *encantar* ‘to really like’, *apetecer* ‘to fancy’  
Class III: e.g. *molestar* ‘to bother’, *sorprender* ‘to surprise’, *asustar* ‘to frighten’

Class II r-psych verbs are aspectually stative and Class III are not necessarily stative but can be eventive as well, as has been observed in previous literature (Parodi & Luján 2000, Ackerman & Moore 2001) and confirmed in Chapter 3. If Class II r-psych verbs are stative, since states do not normally occur in agentive contexts (Lakoff 1966, Lee 1971, Cruse 1973, Gruber 1976, Dowty 1979, Smith 1991/97, Grafmiller 2013), the hypothesis is that Class II r-psych verbs cannot appear in agentive contexts.<sup>56</sup> Given that Class III r-psych verbs can be stative and eventive, the hypothesis for Class III r-psych verbs is that they should be able to appear in agentive and non-agentive contexts. I start with an analysis of agentivity in Class II r-psych verbs and then move on to Class III r-psych verbs.

To reiterate, in (297) is the definition I use for agentivity.

- (297) *Agentivity*: a predicate is agentive if there is an action performed by the subject and/or the predicate entails volitionality of the subject.

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<sup>56</sup> States normally do not occur in agentive context, but they occasionally can as seen in Section 4.1.1.2, examples (46)-(48).

The diagnostics for volitionality are adverbial phrases that entail volition such as *a propósito* ‘on purpose’, *deliberadamente* ‘deliberately’, while the test for action is the phrase — *y lo X hace/hizo* + *modifier* ‘and X does/did it + modifier’ test. Applying the definition of agentivity and the diagnostics to Class II r-psych verbs (e.g, *gustar* ‘to like, *encantar* ‘to really like’, or *apetecer* ‘to fancy’), it is clear that these verbs cannot appear in agentive contexts, in line with the hypothesis. In (298) is a predicate with the Class II r-psych verb *gustar* ‘to like’. This predicate has an inanimate subject and thus when we add *deliberadamente* ‘deliberately’ to the predicate, it is not acceptable, as in (299). This shows that the predicate is not interpreted as agentive.

- (298) *A Toya le gusta la música y le*  
to Toya CL.DAT like.3SG the music and CL.DAT  
*gusta mi voz y mi forma de cantar.*  
like.3SG my voice and my form of to.sing  
‘The music is pleasing to Toya and my voice and my style of singing are  
pleasing to Toya.’ (CREA)

- (299) \**A Toya le gusta la música y le*  
to Toya CL.DAT like.3SG the music and CL.DAT  
*gusta mi voz y mi forma de cantar*  
like.3SG my voice and my form of to.sing  
*deliberadamente.*  
deliberately  
\*‘The music is deliberately pleasing to Toya and my voice and my style of  
singing are deliberately pleasing to Toya.’

Most predicates with Class II r-psych verbs have inanimate subjects that cannot be volitional, and as a result, fail the volitionality tests, as seen in (300)-(305).

- (300) *Hormazábal, muy bien para jugar a squash [sic], pero*  
 Hormazábal very well for to.play at squash but  
*no le apetece [a Conesal] como compañero*  
 no CL.DAT feels.like.3SG to Conesal as to.sing  
*de mesa.*  
 of table  
 ‘Hormazábal, very good for playing squash [sic], but he does not appeal to Conesal as a table companion.’ (adapted from Vanhoe, 223, p.121)

- (301) *\*Hormazábal, muy bien para jugar a squash [sic], pero*  
 Hormazábal very well for to.play at squash but  
*no le apetece a propósito como compañero*  
 no CL.DAT feels.like.3SG to purpose as to.sing  
*de mesa.*  
 of table  
 \*‘Hormazábal, very good for playing squash [sic], but he does not appeal to Conesal on purpose as a table companion.’

- (302) *La traductora pensó que al premio Nobel le*  
 the translator thought.3SG that to-the prize Nobel CL.DAT  
*agradaría mantener un pulso y no hizo caso de*  
 please.3SG to.maintain a pulse and no did.3SG case of  
*la risotada ...del achispado Sagazarraz.*  
 the guffaw of-the tipsy Sagazarraz  
 ‘The translator thought that to maintain a steady hand would be pleasing to the Nobel prize winner and she ignored the guffaw of tipsy Sagazarraz.’

(adapted from Vanhoe, 224, p.121)

- (303) *\*La traductora pensó que al premio Nobel le*  
 the translator thought.3SG that to-the prize Nobel CL.DAT  
*agradaría mantener un pulso deliberadamente y no*  
 please.3SG to.maintain a pulse deliberately and no  
*hizo caso de la risotada del achispado Sagazarraz.*  
 did.3SG case of the guffaw of-the tipsy Sagazarraz  
 \*‘The translator thought that to maintain a steady hand would deliberately be pleasing to the Nobel prize winner and she ignored the guffaw of tipsy Sagazarraz.’

(304) *Le plació aquel olor a leche fermentada,*  
 CL.DAT pleased.3SG that smell to milk fermented  
*punzante y casi humano.*  
 pungent and almost human  
 ‘That smell of fermented mil, pungent and almost human was pleasing to him.’ (CdE)

(305) \**Le plació a propósito aquel olor a*  
 CL.DAT pleased.3SG to purpose that smell to  
*leche fermentada, punzante y casi humano.*  
 milk fermented pungent and almost human  
 \*‘That smell of fermented mil, pungent and almost human was deliberately pleasing to him.’

In fact, even in the predicates with Class II r-psych verbs that have animate subjects, the subjects fail the volitionality test, as seen in (306)-(309).

(306) *Me dijo Clara que sí le gustas.*  
 CL said.3SG Clara that yes CL.DAT like.2SG  
 ‘Clara told me that you are pleasing to him.’ (CREA)

(307) \**Me dijo Clara que sí le gustas deliberadamente.*  
 CL said.3SG Clara that yes CL.DAT like.2SG deliberately  
 ‘Clara told me that you are deliberately pleasing to him.’

(308) *Nace la acendrada intuición de que les gusto.*  
 is.born.3SG the refined intuition of that CL.DAT like.1SG  
 ‘The refined intuition that I am pleasing to them is born.’ (CREA)

(309) *Nace la acendrada intuición de que a propósito*  
 is.born.3SG the refined intuition of that to purpose  
*les gusto.*  
 CL.DAT like.1SG  
 ‘The refined intuition that I am deliberately pleasing to them is born.’



Notice in all the examples above (298)-(308) the experiencer is marked with dative case. As mentioned before, Class II r-psych verbs can only have dative experiencers. Thus, so far we observe that the dative can appear in non-agentive contexts.

Another test that can be used to check for agentivity is the *y X lo hace/hizo + modifier* 'and X does/did it + modifier' test, which tests for action. Applying *y X lo hace/hizo + modifier* 'and X does/did it + modifier' test to examples from the corpora also gives us the same results. For example, in (310)-(312) the predicates with the Class II r-psych verbs *agradar* 'to please', *apetecer* 'to feel like', and *importar* 'to matter' do not pass the *y X lo hace/hizo + modifier* 'and X does/did it + modifier' test, indicating that there is no action encoded.

- (310) *Le agradó la gente joven (\*y lo hizo*  
 CL.DAT pleased.3SG the people young and CL.ACC did.3SG  
*apasionadamente).*  
 passionately  
 \*'Young people pleased her and the young people did so passionately.'

- (311) *Le apeteció el helado (\*y lo hizo*  
 CL.DAT felt.like.3SG the ice-cream and CL.ACC did.3SG  
*arduamente).*  
 arduously.  
 'He felt like/craved ice-cream and it did it arduously.'  
 (adapted from Vanhoe 2002, 85b, p. 163)

- (312) *Le importó tu opinión (\*y lo hizo*  
 CL.DAT mattered.3SG your opinion and CL.ACC did.3SG  
*afanosamente).*  
 diligently.  
 \*'Your opinion mattered to him and it did it diligently.'  
 (adapted from Vanhoe 2002, 85c, p. 163)

Again, in all the examples above (310)-(312) the experiencer is marked with dative case, strongly suggesting that the dative case can appear in non-agentive contexts.

Revisiting the hypothesis made in the beginning of this section, Class II r-psych verbs were expected to resist agentive contexts given that they are aspectually stative. As seen in the examples above, Class II r-psych verbs consistently resist explicit agentive contexts, in agreement with the proposed hypothesis. Moreover, since Class II r-psych verbs can only have dative experiencers, these data strongly suggest that dative case-marked experiencers can occur in non-agentive contexts. We will see if this statement holds when Class III r-psych verbs are taken into consideration.

Moving on to Class III r-psych verbs (e.g, *molestar* ‘to bother’, *sorprender* ‘to surprise’, or *asustar* ‘to frighten’), the hypothesis is that they should be able to appear in agentive as well as non-agentive contexts since they can be eventive as well as stative. Applying the same diagnostics as above to Class III r-psych verb predicates, I show that they can indeed occur in both agentive and non-agentive contexts. First, let us look at Class III r-psych verbs that appear in non-agentive contexts, starting with the tests for volitionality. For example, the sentence in (313) with the Class III r-psych verb *sorprender* ‘to surprise’ has an inanimate subject. Thus, when modified with the adverb *deliberadamente* ‘deliberately’, as in (314), it is not acceptable, indicating that the sentence in (313) does not have a volitional subject.

- (313) *A la autora le sorprenden las narraciones.*  
to the author CL.DAT surprise.3PL the narrations  
‘The narrations surprise the author.’ (CREA)

- (314) \**A la autora le sorprenden las narraciones*  
 to the author CL.DAT surprise.3PL the narrations  
*deliberadamente.*  
 deliberately  
 \*‘The narrations surprise the author deliberately.’

Similarly, with the Class III r-psych verb predicates in (315)-(317), the subjects are inanimate. Thus, the subjects cannot be volitional and on modifying the predicates with the adverbial phrase *a propósito* ‘on purpose’ the predicates are not acceptable, as shown in (318)-(320).

- (315) *¡Cuánto le avergonzó ahora el deprimente*  
 how.much CL.DAT shamed.3SG now the depressing  
*recuerdo de aquella fuga desesperada a Roma!*  
 memory of that escape desperate to Rome  
 ‘How much the depressing memory of that desperate escape to Rome  
 shamed him!’ (CdE)
- (316) *A ninguno de los dos les asustó la soledad.*  
 to none of the two CL.DAT scared.3SG the solitude  
 ‘Solitude did not frighten either of the of two/Neither of the two was afraid  
 of solitude.’ (CREA)
- (317) *Por encima de todo, sin embargo, le*  
 for above of all without emabrgo CL.DAT  
*agobian las tinieblas.*  
 overwhelm.3SG the darkness  
 ‘Above all, however, darkness overwhelms him.’ (CdE)

- (318) \**¡Cuánto le avergonzó ahora el deprimente*  
 how.much CL.DAT shamed.3SG now the depressing  
*recuerdo de aquella fuga desesperada a Roma*  
 memory of that escape desperate to Rome  
*a propósito!*  
 to purpose  
 \*‘How much the depressing memory of that desperate escape to Rome  
 shamed him on purpose!’

- (319) \**A ninguno de los dos les asustó la soledad*  
 to none of the two CL.DAT scared.3SG the solitude  
*a propósito.*  
 at purpose  
 \*‘Solitude did not frighten either of the of two on purpose/Neither of the  
 two was afraid of solitude on purpose.’

- (320) \**Por encima de todo, sin embargo, le*  
 for above of all without embargo CL.DAT  
*agobian las tinieblas deliberadamente.*  
 overwhelm.3SG the darkness deliberately  
 \*‘Above all, however, darkness deliberately overwhelms him.’

Now let us test agentivity with respect to action with the *y X lo hace/hizo + modifier* ‘and X does/did it + modifier’ test. Predicates that pass this test indicate that the subject has performed an action and predicates that fail it indicate that the subject has not performed an action. Inanimate subjects cannot perform actions and thus in (321)-(323) the Class III r-psych verb predicates that have inanimate subjects do not pass the *y X lo hace/hizo + modifier* ‘and X does/did it + modifier’ test as shown in (324)-(326).

- (321) *A Catalina le molestaron sobre todo las frases*  
 to Catalina CL.DAT bothered.3PL about all the sentences  
*de su padre.*  
 of her father  
 ‘Above all her father’s sentences bothered Catalina.’ (CREA)

- (322) *Y le asombró su actitud.*  
 And CL.DAT amazed.3SG his attitude  
 ‘And his attitude amazed her.’ (CdE)
- (323) *Pero los estudios le aburrieron.*  
 But the studies CL.DAT bored  
 ‘But his studies bored him.’ (CdE)
- (324) \**A Catalina le molestaron sobre todo las frases*  
 to Catalina CL.DAT bothered.3PL about all the sentences  
*de su padre y lo hicieron afanosamente.*  
 of her father and CL.ACC did.3PL diligently  
 \*‘Above all her father’s sentences bothered Catalina and they did so diligently.’
- (325) \**Y le asombró su actitud y lo*  
 And CL.DAT amazed.3SG his attitude and CL.ACC  
*hizo arduamente.*  
 did.3SG arduously  
 ‘And his attitude amazed her and it did so arduously.’
- (326) \**Pero los estudios le aburrieron y lo*  
 But the studies CL.DAT bored and CL.ACC  
*hicieron penosamente.*  
 did.3PL painstakingly  
 ‘But his studies bored him and they did so painstakingly.’

In (321)-(326) the experiencer is marked with dative case reaffirming that the dative case can appear in non-agentive contexts. However, some of the examples above can also appear with the experiencer in accusative case too, as seen in (327)-(331).

- (327) *¡Cuánto lo avergonzó ahora el deprimente*  
 how.much CL.ACC shamed.3SG now the depressing  
*recuerdo de aquella fuga desesperada a Roma!*  
 memory of that escape desperate to Rome  
 ‘How much the depressing memory of that desperate escape to Rome  
 shamed him!’
- (328) *Por encima de todo, sin embargo, las tinieblas*  
 for above of all without embargo the darkness  
*lo agobian.*  
 CL.ACC overwhelm.3SG  
 ‘Above all, however, darkness overwhelms him.’
- (329) *Las frases de su padre la molestaron.*  
 the sentences of her father CL.ACC bothered.3PL  
 ‘Her father’s sentences bothered Catalina.’
- (330) *Y su actitud la asombró.*  
 And his attitude CL.ACC amazed.3SG  
 ‘And his attitude amazed her.’
- (331) *Pero los estudios lo aburrieron.*  
 But the studies CL.ACC bored  
 ‘But his studies bored him.’

The predicates in (327)-(331) are non-agentive even with the accusative case, as seen in (332)-(336), since they do not pass the *y X lo hace/hizo + modifier* ‘and X does/did it + modifier’ test.

- (332) \**¡Cuánto lo avergonzó ahora el deprimente*  
 how.much CL.ACC shamed.3SG now the depressing  
*recuerdo de aquella fuga desesperada a Roma!*  
 memory of that escape desperate to Rome  
*Y lo hizo arduamente.*  
 and CL.ACC did.3SG arduously  
 ‘How much the depressing memory of that desperate escape to Rome  
 shamed him! And it did so arduously’

- (333) \**Por encima de todo, sin embargo, las tinieblas*  
 for above of all without embargo the darkness  
*lo agobian y lo hacen afanosamente.*  
 CL.ACC overwhelm.3SG and CL.ACC do.3SG diligently  
 ‘Above all, however, darkness overwhelms him and it does so diligently.’
- (334) \**La molestaron sobre todo las frases de su*  
 CL.ACC bothered.3PL about all the sentences of her  
*padre y lo hicieron afanosamente.*  
 father and CL.ACC did.3PL diligently  
 ‘Above all her father’s sentences bothered her and they did so diligently.’
- (335) \**Y su actitud la asombró y lo*  
 And his attitude CL.ACC amazed.3SG and CL.ACC  
*hizo arduamente.*  
 did.3SG arduously  
 ‘And his attitude amazed her and it did so arduously.’
- (336) \**Pero los estudios lo aburrieron y lo*  
 But the studies CL.ACC bored and CL.ACC  
*hicieron penosamente.*  
 did.3PL painstakingly  
 ‘But his studies bored him and they did so painstakingly.’

In fact, there are predicates in the corpora with Class III r-psych verbs and accusative case that are non-agentive, as seen in (337)-(340).

- (337) *Muchas parejas deciden esterilizarse, cuando las*  
 many couples decide.3PL to.sterilize.REFL when the  
*obligaciones económicas las agobian.*  
 obligations economic CL.ACC overwhelm  
 ‘Many couples decide to sterilize themselves when their economic obligations overwhelm them.’ (CdE)

- (338) \**Muchas parejas deciden esterilizarse, cuando las*  
 many couples decide.3PL to.sterilize.REFL when the  
*obligaciones económicas las agobian y lo*  
 obligations economic CL.ACC overwhelm and CL.ACC  
*hacen arduamente.*  
 do.PL diligently  
 ‘Many couples decide to sterilize themselves when their economic obligations  
 overwhelm them and they do it diligently.’
- (339) *Mi gesto era tan amenazador que lo*  
 my gesture was.3SG so threatening that CL.ACC  
*asusté; corrió por la construcción.*  
 frightened.1SG ran.3SG through the construction  
 ‘My gesture was so threatening that I frightened him; he ran through the  
 construction.’ (CdE)
- (340) \**Mi gesto era tan amenazador que lo*  
 my gesture was.3SG so threatening that CL.ACC  
*asusté y lo hice penosamente.*  
 frightened.1SG and CL.ACC did.3SG painstakingly  
 ‘My gesture was so threatening that I frightened him and I did it  
 painstakingly.’

Therefore Class III r-psych verb predicates that lack agents can have experiencers marked in dative or accusative case. We had learned earlier with Class II r-psych verbs that the dative case appears in non-agentive contexts. Now we see that the accusative case can also appear in non-agentive contexts. Thus it seems that there must be some other factor other than agentivity that influences case-marking. I will show in Section 4.3 that it is affectedness that allows the experiencer to be case-marked accusative even in non-agentive contexts.

First, however, I examine Class III r-psych verb predicates appearing in agentive contexts. For this purpose, I first apply the tests for volitionality and then the ones for



action. For example, in (341), the Class III r-psych verb *sorprender* ‘to surprise’ already appears in the sentence with the adverbial phrase of volition *con intención* ‘with intention’. This shows that the Class III r-psych verb *sorprender* ‘to surprise’ can occur in agentive contexts in terms of volitionality.

- (341) *Cuando por casualidad o con intención los*  
 when for casualty or with intention CL.ACC  
*sorprendemos llevan a cabo una serie de maniobras*  
 surprise.2PL take.3PL at end a series of maneuvers  
*para tratar de hacer creer que no estaban*  
 for to.try of to.do to.believe that no were.3PL  
*sirviéndose el trago.*  
 serving.REFL the drink  
 ‘When we surprise them, by chance or intentionally, they make a series of  
 excuses to make us believe that they were not serving themselves a drink.’  
 (CREA)

Similarly, a predicate from the corpus with the Class III r-psych verb *sorprender* ‘to surprise’ as in (342), and modified with the adverb *deliberadamente* ‘deliberately’ as in (343), is acceptable, indicating that the verb can appear in an agentive context.

- (342) *Pero entra Max con un gran rollo de cable,*  
 but enters.3SG Max with a big roll of cable  
*y lo sorprende.*  
 and CL.ACC surprise.3SG  
 ‘But Max enters with a big roll of cable and surprises him deliberately.’  
 (CREA)
- (343) *Pero entra Max con un gran rollo de cable,*  
 but enters.3SG Max with a big roll of cable  
*y deliberadamente lo sorprende.*  
 and deliberately CL.ACC surprise.3SG  
 ‘But Max enters with a big roll of cable and surprises him.’

In (344) and (345) we have predicates with the Class III r-psych verbs *agobiar* ‘to overwhelm/harass’ and *apaciguar* ‘to assuage/calm’. When we modify the predicates

with the adverbial phrase *a propósito* ‘on purpose’ and *deliberadamente* ‘deliberately’, as seen in (346) and (347), respectively, the predicates are acceptable, indicating that the subjects act volitionally in these predicates.

- (344) *Los novios de mi prima la agobiaron*  
 the boyfriends of my cousin Cl.ACC harassed.3PL  
*telefónicamente desde toda la república.*  
 by.telephone since all the republic  
 ‘My cousin’s boyfriends overwhelmed/harassed her by telephone from all over the republic.’ (CdE)

- (345) *Declaró una paz imperial y para asegurarla*  
 declared.3SG a peace imperial and for assure-it  
*los apaciguó al reconocer a Enrique el León*  
 CL.ACC calmed.3SG to-the recognize to Henry the lion  
*como duque de Sajonia y Baviera.*  
 as duke of Saxony and Bavaria  
 ‘He declared imperial peace and in order to assure it he assuaged/calmed them down by recognizing Henry the Lion as Duke of Saxony and Bavaria.’ (Adapted from CdE)

- (346) *Los novios de mi prima la agobiaron*  
 the boyfriends of my cousin Cl.ACC harassed.3PL  
*telefónicamente a propósito desde toda la república.*  
 by.telephone at purpose since all the republic  
 ‘My cousin’s boyfriends deliberately harassed her by telephone from all over the republic.’

- (347) *Declaró una paz imperial y para asegurarla*  
 declared.3SG a peace imperial and for assure-it  
*deliberadamente los apaciguó al reconocer a*  
 deliberately CL.ACC calmed.3SG to-the recognize to  
*Enrique el León como duque de Sajonia y Baviera.*  
 Henry the lion as duke of Saxony and Bavaria  
 ‘He declared imperial peace and in order to assure it he deliberately calmed them down by recognizing Henry the Lion as Duke of Saxony and Bavaria.’

So far, applying the volitionality test to Class III r-psych verb predicates demonstrates that they can indeed be compatible with agentive contexts. Additionally, all the examples in (341)-(347) have accusative case-marked experiencers. This confirms that the accusative case can appear in agentive contexts.

We now look at agentivity with respect to Class III r-psych verbs in terms of action. Recall the diagnostic test for action is *y X lo hace/hizo + modifier* 'and X does/did it + modifier' test. Applying this diagnostics to the Class III r-psych verbs *desanimar* 'to discourage' and *espantar* 'to scare' shows us that they can occur in agentive environments. For example, in (348) is a predicate with the Class III r-psych verb *desanimar* 'to discourage', which when combined with *y X lo hace/hizo + modifier* 'and X does/did it + modifier', as in (349), is acceptable.

- (348) *Decidió, después de mucho cavar, empezar una nueva*  
 decided.3SG after of a.lot to.meditate to.start a new  
*vida, no le habló a nadie de sus planes*  
 life no CL.DAT spoke.3SG to no.one of her plans  
*porque sabía que la desanimarían.*  
 because knew.3SG that CL.ACC would.discourage.3PL  
 'She decided after much meditation, to start a new life, she didn't tell any  
 one about her plans because she knew they would discourage her.'

(Adapted from CdE)

- (349) *Decidió, después de mucho cavilar, empezar una nueva*  
 decided.3SG after of a.lot to.meditate to.start a new  
*vida, no le habló a nadie de sus planes*  
 life no CL.DAT spoke.3SG to no.one of her plans  
*porque sabía que la desanimarían*  
 because knew.3SG that CL.ACC would.discourage.3PL  
*y lo harían afanosamente.*  
 and CL.ACC would.do.3PL diligently  
 ‘She decided after much meditation, to start a new life, she didn’t tell any  
 one about her plans because she knew they would discourage her and they  
 would do it diligently.’

Similarly, in (350) is a predicate with the Class III r-psych verb *espantar* ‘to scare’.

When we modify the predicate with *y X lo hace/hizo + modifier* ‘and X does/did it + modifier’, as seen in (351), it passes the test.

- (350) *Recuerda que si te quisieran presionar*  
 remember.3SG that if you.CL.2SG wanted.3SG to.pressure  
*diles que quieres hablar con el presidente*  
 tell.2SG-them that want.2SG to.speak with the president  
*Kardoux porque él sabía del asunto. Con*  
 Kardoux because he knew.3SG of-the matter with  
*eso los espantas y te dejan en paz.*  
 that CL.ACC scare.2SG and you.CL. 2SG leave.3PL in peace  
 ‘Remember that if they wanted to pressure you tell them that you want to  
 talk to President Kardoux because he knows about the matter. With that, you  
 will scare them and they will leave you in peace.’ (CREA)

- (351) *Recuerda que si te quisieran presionar*  
remember.3SG that if you.CL.2SG wanted.3SG to.pressure  
*diles que quieres hablar con el presidente*  
tell.2SG-them that want.2SG to.speak with the president  
*Kardoux porque él sabía del asunto. Con*  
Kardoux because he knew.3SG of-the matter with  
*eso los espantas y lo haces*  
that CL.ACC scare.2SG and CL.ACC do.2SG  
*frenéticamente.*  
frantically  
‘Remember that if they wanted to pressure you tell them that you want to talk to President Kardoux because he knows about the matter. With that, you scare them and you do it frantically.’

In (352) with the Class III r-psych verb *tranquilizar* ‘to calm’ the predicate passes the *y X lo hace/hizo + modifier* ‘and X does/did it + modifier’ test for action, as seen in (353).

- (352) *Rió comenzó a maldecir a su jefe pero Scalise*  
Rió began.3SG to curse to his boss but Scalise  
*lo tranquilizó.*  
CL.ACC calmed.3SG  
‘Rió began to curse his boss but Scalise calmed him down.’  
(CREA)
- (353) *Scalise lo tranquilizó y lo hizo*  
Scalise CL.ACC calmed.3SG and CL.ACC did.3SG  
*esforzadamente.*  
with difficulty  
‘Scalise calmed him down and he did it with difficulty.’

Another predicate is shown in (354) with the Class III r-psych verb *espantar* ‘to scare’ and again it is acceptable with the *y X lo hace/hizo + modifier* ‘and X does/did it + modifier’, as seen in (355).

- (354) *Cuando abría [la puerta] lo espantaron. Le*  
 When opened.3SG the-door CL.ACC scared.3PL CL.DAT  
*estaban tapando los ojos unas manos tan suaves*  
 were.3PL covering the eyes some hands so soft  
*como pequeñas.*  
 as small  
 ‘When he was opening [the door], they scared him. Some hands as soft as they were small were covering his eyes.’

(CREA)

- (355) *Lo espantaron y lo hicieron apuradamente.*  
 CL.ACC scared.3PL and CL.ACC did.3PL hurriedly.  
 ‘They scared him and they did it hurriedly.’

Again, thus far it seems that Class III r-psych verbs can appear in agentive contexts. Furthermore, all of the examples in (348)-(355) have experiencers marked with accusative case, indicating that accusative case can appear in agentive contexts.

To summarize, both hypotheses made in the beginning of this section are strongly supported. Dative case marking is restricted to non-agentive contexts, whether with Class II or Class III r-psych verbs, as shown in (302) and (306) above, repeated in (356)-(357) here. In other words, there is a correlation between dative case and non-agentivity.

- (356) *La traductora pensó que al premio Nobel le*  
 the translator thought.3SG that to-the prize Nobel CL.DAT  
*agradaría mantener un pulso y no hizo caso de*  
 please.3SG to.maintain a pulse and no did.3SG case of  
*la risotada ...del achispado Sagazarraz.*  
 the guffaw of-the tipsy Sagazarraz  
 ‘The translator thought that to maintain a steady hand would be pleasing to the Nobel prize winner and she ignored the guffaw of tipsy Sagazarraz.’

(adapted from Vanhoe, 224, p.121)

- (357) *Me dijo Clara que sí le gustas.*  
 CL said.3SG Clara that yes CL.DAT like.2SG  
 ‘Clara told me that you are pleasing to him.’ (CREA)

On the other hand, accusative case, which only occurs with Class II r-psych verbs, may appear in agentive as well as non-agentive contexts, as shown above in (349) and (338), respectively, and repeated here in (358) and (359).

- (358) *Decidió, después de mucho cavilar, empezar una nueva*  
 decided.3SG after of a.lot to.meditate to.start a new  
*vida, no le habló a nadie de sus planes*  
 life no CL.DAT spoke.3SG to no.one of her plans  
*porque sabía que la desanimarían*  
 because knew.3SG that CL.ACC would.discourage.3PL  
*y lo harían afanosamente.*  
 and CL.ACC would.do.3PL diligently  
 ‘She decided after much meditation, to start a new life, she didn’t tell any one about her plans because she knew they would discourage her and they would do it diligently.’

- (359) *\*Muchas parejas deciden esterilizarse, cuando las*  
 many couples decide.3PL to.sterilize.REFL when the  
*obligaciones económicas las agobian y lo*  
 obligations economic CL.ACC overwhelm and CL.ACC  
*hacen arduamente.*  
 do.PL diligently  
 ‘Many couples decide to sterilize themselves when their economic obligations overwhelm them and they do it diligently.’

One question that remains to be answered is what conditions the selection of accusative case in non-agentive contexts, such as in (359). I postulate that it is the feature of affectedness of the object, which we turn to in the next section.

#### 4.4.2 Affectedness

In this section we examine the relation between affectedness of the object and case-marking in Class II and Class III r-psych verbs. Recall that in Section 4.3 I defined affectedness as a change — temporary or permanent, mental or physical — in the object. The test I use for affectedness of the object is the *quedar* + *adjectival participle* + *por x tiempo* ‘to remain + adjectival participle + for x time’ test (*quedar* test, henceforth). I repeat some examples from Section 4.3 here for clarity. The sentence in (360), when modified with the *quedar* test, yields an acceptable sentence albeit a bit redundant (thus the ‘?’ in front of the *quedar* phrase), as seen in (361). This indicates that the object is indeed affected.

- (360) *Juan rompió el vaso*  
Juan broke.3SG the glass  
‘Juan broke the glass.’

- (361) *Juan rompió el vaso (?y el vaso quedó roto por unos días).*  
Juan broke.3SG the glass and the glass remained.3SG broken  
for some days  
‘Juan broke the glass and the glass remained broken for some days.’

In contrast, (362) is not acceptable when modified with the *quedar* test, as in (363), and thus the object is not affectedness of the object.

- (362) *Jorge miró la tele.*  
Jorge watched.3SG the t.v  
‘Jorge watched t.v.’



- (363) *Jorge miró la tele (\*y la tele quedó  
 Jorge watched.3SG the t.v and the t.v remained.3SG  
 mirada por unas horas).*  
 watched for some hours  
 \*‘Jorge watched T.V. and the T.V. remained watched for some hours.’

Applying the diagnostic to Class II r-psych verbs (e.g. *gustar* ‘to like’, *encantar* ‘to really like’, *apetecer* ‘to fancy’), it is clear that the objects of these verbs are not affected, just as predicted by the hypothesis. For example, in (364) with the Class II r-psych verb *gustar* ‘to like’, the predicate does not pass the *quedar* test, as seen in (365). This indicates that the object is not affected.

- (364) *He notado que le gusto.*  
 have.1SG noticed that CL.DAT like.1SG  
 ‘I have noticed that he likes me.’  
 (CREA)

- (365) *He notado que le gusto (\*y él queda  
 have.1SG noticed that CL.DAT like.1SG and he remains.3SG  
 gustado por un rato).*  
 pleased for a while  
 \*‘I have noticed that I please him and he remains pleased for a while.’

Similarly in (366) with the Class II r-psych verb *agradar* ‘to please, the predicate in (367) does not pass the *quedar* test, meaning that the object is not affected.

- (366) *...vio una cama matrimonial de madera con una  
 saw.3SG a bed matrimonial of wood with a  
 especie de dosel que le agradó  
 species of canopy that CL.DAT pleased.3SG  
 ‘... he saw a wooden double-bed with some kind of canopy that pleased  
 him.’  
 (CREA)*

- (367) ...vio una cama matrimonial de madera con una  
 saw.3SG a bed matrimonial of wood with a  
*especie de dosel que le agradó* (\*y él  
 species of canopy that CL.DAT pleased.3SG and he  
*quedó agradado por un rato*).  
 remained.3SG pleased for a while  
 \*‘... he saw a wooden double-bed with some kind of canopy that pleased  
 him, and he remained pleased for a while’

In (368) is a predicate with the verb *apetecer* ‘to feel like’. Again, it does not pass the *quedar* test, and thus the object is not affected, as seen in (369).

- (368) ...las diversiones que les apetecen, que les  
 the diversions that CL.DAT feel.like.3PL that CL.DAT  
*son más gratas son distintas a las mías*.  
 are.3PL more pleasant are distinct to the mine  
 ‘...the hobbies that they like, that are pleasing to them are distinct from  
 mine.’ (CdE)

- (369) ...las diversiones que les apetecen, que les  
 the diversions that CL.DAT feel.like.3PL that CL.DAT  
*son más gratas son distintas a las mías* (\*y  
 are.3PL more pleasant are distinct to the mine and  
*ellos quedan apetecidos por un rato*).  
 they remain.3PL pleased. for a while  
 \*‘...the hobbies that they like, that are pleasing to them are distinct from  
 mine, and they remain pleased for a while.’

There are a few Class-II-verb predicates that can pass the *quedar* test such as *encantar* ‘to really like’ and *interesar* ‘to interest’. However, in these particular cases *encantar* takes on a different meaning of ‘to enchant’ with accusative case-marking and

*interesar* is disputably not a Class II r-psych verb.<sup>57</sup> It can be used with *estar* ‘to be’ as *Está interesado* ‘He is interested’, has an inchoative form *interesarse*, and has been found in the corpora with accusative case-marking (Vanhoe 2002). Thus, I set these verbs aside. I conclude that Class II r-psych verb predicates with dative experiencers never pass the affectedness test. Therefore, the dative experiencer of this class of verbs can never represent an affected object.

Now let us look at Class III r-psych verbs. In contrast to Class II r-psych verbs, for these verbs the hypothesis is that they should be able to encode affectedness of the object since they can be eventive, and I will now show that this is true. Consider the predicates in (370)-(372) with the Class III r-psych verbs *aburrir* ‘to bore’, *tranquilizar* ‘to calm’, and *desconcertar* ‘to disconcert’. All these predicates pass the *quedar* test as shown in (373)-(375), indicating that the objects are affected.

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<sup>57</sup> The verb *encantar* takes on a different meaning of ‘to enchant’ with accusative case-marking, as seen in (i), where the context also helps with the meaning of the verb.

- (i) *El mago lo encantó.*  
the magician CL.ACC enchanted.3SG

‘The magician enchanted him.’

For the verb *interesar* ‘to interest’ there was not even one sentence in the CREA or CdE with an accusative clitic. However, there were sentences without any clitic and only with a lexical DP such as (ii), which I set aside.

- (ii) *La asimbolia para el dolor interesó a los varios investigadores.*  
the asymbolia for the pain interested.3SG to the several researchers

‘Pain aymbolia interested several researchers’ (CREA)

Vanhoe (2006) found one example of the verb *interesar* ‘to interest’ in his corpus with an accusative clitic, as seen in (iii), and claims that it is therefore not a Class III psych verb. I set the verb aside for the purposes of this study.

- (ii) *Realmente la llegó a interesar...*  
Really CL.ACC arrived.3SG to interest

‘It really got interesting for her./She really got interested in it.’ (Vanhoe 2002, 76, p.209)

- (370) *El locutor hispano lo aburrió profundamente.*  
 the announcer hispanic CL.ACC bored.3SG profoundly  
 ‘The Hispanic announcer profoundly bored him.’
- (371) *Carolina fácilmente lo tranquilizó y lo alentó ilusionándolo con la casa.*  
 Carolina easily CL.ACC calmed.3SG and CL.ACC encouraged.3 SG exciting-CL.ACC with the house  
 ‘Carolina easily calmed him down and encouraged him by making him excited about the house.’
- (372) *La pregunta la desconcertó porque la respuesta no era fácil.*  
 the question CL.ACC disconcerted.3SG because the answer not was.3SG easy  
 ‘The question disconcerted her because the answer was not easy.’ (CREA)
- (373) *El locutor hispano lo aburrió profundamente (y éste quedó aburrido por un rato).*  
 the announcer hispanic CL.ACC bored.3SG profoundly and this.one remained.3SG bored for a while  
 ‘The Hispanic announcer profoundly bored him and he remained bored for a while.’
- (374) *Carolina fácilmente lo tranquilizó (y él quedó tranquilo por un rato),*  
 Carolina easily CL.ACC calmed.3SG and he remained.3SG calmed for a while  
 ‘Carolina easily calmed him down and he remained calm for a while.’
- (375) *La pregunta la desconcertó (y ella quedó desconcertada por un rato).*  
 the question CL.ACC disconcerted.3SG and she remained.3SG disconcerted for a while  
 ‘The question disconcerted her and she remained disconcerted for a while.’

Some other verbs that are Class III r-psych verbs are *agobiar* ‘to overwhelm’ and *asustar* ‘to frighten’. Applying the *quedar* test we see that they also pass the test. For example, in (376) is a predicate with the verb *agobiar* ‘to overwhelm’, and with the *quedar* test the predicate is acceptable, as in (377), indicating that the object is affected.

- (376) *Muchas parejas deciden esterilizarse cuando las*  
many couples decide.3PL to.sterilize.REFL when the  
*obligaciones económicas las agobian.*  
obligations economic CL.ACC overwhelm  
‘Many couples decide to sterilize themselves when their economic  
obligations overwhelm them.’ (CdE)

- (377) *Muchas parejas deciden esterilizarse, cuando las*  
many couples decide.3PL to.sterilize.REFL when the  
*obligaciones económicas las agobian (y quedan*  
obligations economic CL.ACC overwhelm and remain.3SG  
*agobiadas por un rato).*  
overwhelmed for a while  
‘Many couples decide to sterilize themselves when their economic  
obligations overwhelm them and they remain overwhelmed for a while.’

In (378) is a predicate with the verb *asustar* ‘to frighten’. Again, as seen above with other Class III r-psych verbs, on applying the *quedar* test, as in (379), the predicate is acceptable, indicating that the object is affected.

- (378) *Mi gesto era tan amenazador que lo*  
my gesture was.3SG so threatening that CL.ACC  
*asusté; corrió por la construcción.*  
frightened.1SG ran.3SG through the construction  
‘My gesture was so threatening that I frightened him; he ran through the  
construction.’ (CdE)

- (379) *Mi gesto era tan amenazador que lo*  
 my gesture was.3SG so threatening that CL.ACC  
*asusté;* (*y quedó asustado por un rato*).  
 frightened.1SG and remained.3SG frightened for a while  
 ‘My gesture was so threatening that I frightened him; and he remained  
 frightened for a while.’

So far it is clear that Class III r-psych verbs can have affected objects. Note that in all the predicates above the experiencer is marked with accusative case. Thus, we can safely conclude that Class III r-psych verbs can have affected objects when they are marked with accusative case. The next question that needs to be addressed is whether the dative occurring with Class III verbs have affected experiencers. First, let us look at predicates with Class III r-psych verb predicates that do not have affected objects. In the predicate in (380) with the Class III r-psych verb *asustar* ‘to scare’, the predicate does not pass the *quedar* test, as seen in (381). This indicates that the object is not affected.

- (380) *Les asusta este tipo de sueños.*  
 CL.DAT scare.3SG this type of dreams  
 ‘These types of dreams scare them.’ (CREA)

- (381) *Les asusta este tipo de sueños, (\*y ellos*  
 CL.DAT scare.3SG this type of dreams and they  
*quedan asustados por un rato).*  
 remain.3PL scared for a while  
 \*‘These types of dreams scare them, and they remain scared for a while.’

Again in (382) with the Class III r-psych verb *espantar* ‘to scare’, the predicate in (383) does not pass the *quedar* test, meaning that the object is not affected.

- (382) ...a su raza le espanta la idea de morir en  
to his race CL.DAT scares.3SG the idea of to.die in  
*tierra extraña.*  
land strange  
‘the idea of dying in a strange land scares his race.’ (CREA)
- (383) ...a su raza le espanta la idea de morir en  
to his race CL.DAT scares.3SG the idea of to.die in  
*tierra extraña (\*y su raza queda espantada por*  
land strange and his race remains.3SG scared for  
*un rato).*  
a while  
\*‘the idea of dying in a strange land scares his race and his race remains  
scared for a while.’

Another verb that is Class III r-psych verbs is *agobiar* ‘to overwhelm’. In (384) is a predicate with the verb *agobiar* ‘to overwhelm’ and with the *quedar* test the predicate is not acceptable, as in (385), thus, encoding non-affectedness of the object.

- (384) *Por encima de todo, sin embargo, le agobian*  
for above of all without embargo CL.DAT overwhelm.3SG  
*las tinieblas.*  
the darkness  
‘Above all, however, darkness overwhelms him.’ (Cde)
- (385) *Por encima de todo, sin embargo, le agobian*  
for above of all without embargo CL.DAT overwhelm.3SG  
*las tinieblas (\*y queda agobiado por un rato).*  
the darkness and remains.3PL overwhelmed for a while  
\*‘Above all, however, darkness overwhelms him, and he remains  
overwhelmed for a while.’

However, consider the sentences in (386)-(389) with dative experiencers. All the r-psych verb predicates in these sentences pass the *quedar* affectedness test, and thus the objects are all affected, as seen in (390)-(393).

- (386) *¡Cuánto le avergonzó ahora el  
how.much CL.DAT/ACC shamed.3SG now the  
deprimente recuerdo de aquella fuga desesperada a  
depressing memory of that escape desperate to  
Roma!  
Rome  
'How much the depressing memory of that desperate escape to Roma  
shamed him now!*

- (387) *Al final de la clase principal, el maestro narra  
at-the end of the class principal the teacher narrates.3SG  
todos los días una historia, un cuento o fragmento de  
every the days a story a story or fragment of  
historias a los niños, quienes esperan con impaciencia,  
stories to the children who wait with impatience  
ya que esta parte narrativa les fascina.  
already that this part narrative CL.DAT fascinate.3SG  
'At the end of the main class, every day the teacher narrates a story, a short  
tale or a fragment of stories to the children who impatiently wait since this  
part fascinates them.'*

- (388) *A Catalina le molestaron sobre todo las frases  
to Catalina CL.DAT bothered.3PL about all the sentences  
de su padre.  
of her father  
'Above all her father's sentences bothered Catalina.'*

- (389) *Y le asombró su actitud.  
And CL.DAT amazed.3SG his attitude  
'And his attitude amazed her.'*

(CdE)



- (390) *¡Cuánto le avergonzó ahora el*  
 how.much CL.DAT/ACC shamed.3SG now the  
*deprimente recuerdo de aquella fuga desesperada a*  
 depressing memory of that escape desperate to  
*Roma! (y él quedó avergonzado por un rato.)*  
 Rome and he remained.3SG shamed for a while  
 ‘How much the depressing memory of that desperate escape to Roma  
 shamed him now! And he remained ashamed for a while.’
- (391) *Al final de la clase principal, el maestro narra*  
 at-the end of the class principal the teacher narrates.3SG  
*todos los días una historia, un cuento o fragmento de*  
 every the days a story a story or fragment of  
*historias a los niños, quienes esperan con impaciencia,*  
 stories to the children who wait with impatience  
*ya que esta parte narrativa les fascina (y*  
 already that this part narrative CL.DAT fascinate.3SG and  
*ellos quedan fascinados por un rato).*  
 they remain.3PL fascinated for a while  
 ‘At the end of the main class, every day the teacher narrates a story, a short  
 tale or a fragment of stories to the children who impatiently wait since this  
 part fascinates them and they remain fascinated for a while.’
- (392) *A Catalina le molestaron sobre todo las frases*  
 to Catalina CL.DAT bothered.3PL about all the sentences  
*de su padre (y quedó molesta por un rato).*  
 of her father and remained.3SG bothered for a while  
 ‘Above all her father’s sentences bothered Catalina and she remained  
 bothered for a while.’
- (393) *Y le asombró su actitud (y quedó*  
 And CL.DAT amazed.3SG his attitude and remained.3SG  
*asombrada por un rato).*  
 amazed for a while  
 ‘And his attitude amazed her and she remained amazed for a while.’

Thus, the dative occurring with Class III r-psych verbs can be used with affected experiencers. Given that the dative can be used in with affected and non-affected objects implies that the dative case is unspecified for affectedness. Summarizing, the findings on affectedness strongly support the hypotheses that objects of Class II r-psych verbs are not affected and objects of Class III r-psych verbs can be affected. The hypothesis was that Class III r-psych verbs would be able to have affected objects, and the findings are in line with the hypothesis. Moreover, we found that the accusative case always indicates affectedness. While in most cases the diagnostic proved that the dative experiencer was not affected, there were instances in which the dative experiencer was affected. Therefore, I conclude that the dative case neither encodes affectedness nor non-affectedness, that is, the dative appears to be unspecified for affectedness.

In conclusion, both of the hypotheses made in the beginning of this section are strongly supported. Class II r-psych verbs cannot encode affectedness of the object, and Class III r-psych verbs with accusative experiencers are always affected while with dative experiencers they are sometimes affected. In the next chapter I summarize these findings and correlate agentivity and affectedness to case-marking. I will show how the components of agentivity and affectedness are correlated to object case-marking in Spanish r-psych verbs. In particular, I propose that the dative case-marking is unspecified for affectedness and accusative case-marking is specified for affectedness. That is, in order for accusative case-marking to occur some set of the components of agentivity and affectedness of the object is required, whereas for dative case-marking a weakening or lack of these components is required.

### **4.3 SUMMARY**

In this chapter I discussed two components of transitivity relevant to case-marking in r-psych verbs — agentivity and affectedness of the object. I defined these notions and provided diagnostics to identify them. I claimed that when the experiencer is marked with accusative case, all or at least one of these components is present in the interpretation of a predicate, and I also argued that a weakening or lack of the features of agentivity and affectedness of the object results in dative case-marking.

## **Chapter 5: Further Theoretical Implications**

In this chapter I summarize the findings from the previous chapter and expound on the correlation between agentivity, affectedness, and case-marking in Spanish r-psych verbs. My claim is that dative case-marking is unspecified for affectedness and lacks agentivity, while accusative case-marking is specified for affectedness and unspecified for agentivity. The organization of this chapter is as follows. In Section 5.1 I summarize the findings on agentivity and affectedness of the object in the two classes of Spanish r-psych verbs and propose a correlation between these two features — agentivity and affectedness — and case-marking. In this same section, I also support my proposal that Class III r-psych verbs, when used with an accusative experiencer, are in fact causative. In Section 5.2 I discuss the research on transitivity in general in relation to my findings, and suggest that the Transitivity Hypothesis makes the right predictions with regards to the patterns exhibited by Spanish r-psych verb predicates. I also demonstrate that the derived facts are in line with Croft's (1993) proposal on causation. In Section 5.3 I highlight the advantages of my proposal in comparison to previous approaches, and in Section 5.4 I summarize and conclude this chapter.

### **5.1 TRANSITIVITY AND CASE-MARKING IN SPANISH**

The hypotheses borne out by the findings about Class II r-psych verbs are that they resist agentive contexts and contexts that require affectedness of the object. For Class III r-psych verbs, the findings support the hypotheses that they can occur in agentive and non-

agentive contexts and are compatible with affectedness of the object. Recall that the dative case can be assigned to experiencers of both Class II and Class III r-psych verbs, and the accusative case can only be assigned to experiencers of Class III r-psych verbs. Given that only the dative case can be assigned for experiencers of Class II r-psych verbs, this means the dative also does not itself require these features. Conversely, Class III r-psych are the only class of r-psych verbs that are compatible with agentivity and affectedness of the object, and also the only class that permits an accusative case experiencer, which requires either or both of these features to be present. This suggests that the accusative case is not unspecified like the dative case, but instead it is specified for affectedness and/or agentivity. In this section I discuss what exactly accusative case is specified for, and the correlation between these features and case-marking overall in r-psych verbs.

In considering the correlation between the two features — agentivity and affectedness — and case-marking in r-psych verb predicates there are four possible combination of features: (i) no agentivity and no affectedness of object, (ii) no agentivity but affectedness of the object, (iii) agentivity and affectedness of the object, and (iv) agentivity and no affectedness of the object. In the data the first three combinations were observed. The combination that was not observed is the one of a predicate entailing agentivity of the subject and not encoding affectedness, [agentivity, no affectedness]. This case was not encountered at all in the corpus and I suggest that in the case of r-psych verbs this is because if there is agentivity there must be affectedness, too. I present the

three cases observed in the corpus data in the form of a table, as seen in (394), and I derive deeper principles of case-marking in r-psych verbs from the table.

(394)

	<b>Case (i)</b> no agentivity no affectedness	<b>Case (ii)</b> no agentivity affectedness	<b>Case (iii)</b> agentivity affectedness
DAT	✓	✓	✗
ACC	✗	✓	✓

As seen in the table above for Case (i) in r-psych verb predicates that do not exhibit the features of agentivity or affectedness of the object, only dative case is assigned and accusative cannot be assigned in these cases. For Case (ii) in predicates with r-psych verbs that do not have agentivity but do have an affected object, dative and accusative case can both be assigned. For Case (iii) in predicates with r-psych verbs that pass the tests for agentivity and affectedness of the object, only accusative case is assigned and dative case cannot be assigned. Let us now look at all three cases one by one. Since the accusative case can only appear in Class III r-psych verbs, I focus on these throughout the discussion, and Class II r-psych verbs are only discussed for the section on Case (i).

For Case (i), the predicates express neither agentivity nor affectedness, [no agentivity, no affectedness] and the dative case is assigned to the experiencer. In (395) the predicate neither entails agentivity, since the subject is inanimate, nor passes the test for affectedness of the object as seen in (396).

(395) *A Toya le gusta la música y le gusta*  
 to Toya CL.DAT like.3SG the music and CL.DAT like.3SG  
*mi voz y mi forma de cantar.*  
 my voice and my form of to.sing  
 ‘The music is pleasing to Toya and my voice and my style of singing are  
 pleasing to Toya.’ (CREA)

(396) *A Toya le gusta la música y le gusta*  
 to Toya CL.DAT like.3SG the music and CL.DAT like.3SG  
*mi voz y mi forma de cantar (\*y ella*  
 my voice and my form of to.sing and she  
*queda gustada por un rato).*  
 remains.3SG liked for a while  
 \*‘The music is pleasing to Toya and my voice and my style of singing  
 remain pleasing to Toya for a while.’

Again in (397) the predicate does not pass the test for agentivity, given that the subject is inanimate, nor affectedness as seen in (398), where the modified predicate does not pass the affectedness test.

(397) *Le plació aquel olor a leche fermentada,*  
 CL.DAT pleased.3SG that smell to milk fermented  
*punzante y casi humano.*  
 pungent and almost human  
 ‘That smell of fermented milk, pungent and almost human was pleasing to  
 him.’ (CdE)

(398) *Le plació aquel olor a leche fermentada,*  
 CL.DAT pleased.3SG that smell to milk fermented  
*punzante y casi humano (\*y él quedó*  
 pungent and almost human and he remained.3SG  
*placido por un rato).*  
 pleased for a while  
 \*‘That smell of fermented milk, pungent and almost human was pleasing  
 to him and he remained pleased for a while.’

Even in (399), with an animate subject, the predicate neither passes the test for agentivity nor affectedness, as seen in (400) and (401), respectively, where the modified predicates do not pass the agentivity nor affectedness tests.

- (399) *Nace la acendrada intuición de que les*  
 is.born.3SG the refined intuition of that CL.DAT  
*gusto.*  
 like.1SG  
 ‘The refined intuition that I am pleasing to them is born.’ (CREA)

- (400) \**Nace la acendrada intuición de que a propósito*  
 is.born.3SG the refined intuition of that to purpose  
*les gusto*  
 CL.DAT like.1SG  
 ‘The refined intuition that I am deliberately pleasing to them is born.’

- (401) *Nace la acendrada intuición de que les*  
 is.born.3SG the refined intuition of that CL.DAT  
*gusto (\*y ellos quedan gustados por un rato).*  
 like.1SG and they remain.3PL liked for a while  
 ‘The refined intuition that I am deliberately pleasing to them is born and they remain pleased.’

Class II r-psych verbs form Case (i) predicates where there is neither agentivity nor affectedness. These predicates occur frequently in the corpus. Class III r-psych verbs can also form Case (i) predicates where there is neither agentivity, since the subject is inanimate, nor affectedness, as seen in (402) and (403), although these predicates do not occur as frequently in the corpus.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> Class III r-psych verbs tend to form Case (ii) or Case (iii) sentences since Class III r-psych verb sentences can easily be interpreted as encoding affectedness of the object. I explain this tendency later in this section when I discuss their similarities to causative verbs.



(402) ...*le aburren las memorias de los demás.*  
 CL.DAT bore.3PL the memories of the rest  
 ‘The memories of others bore him.’ (Adapted from Vanhoe 2002, 21a, p.75)

(403) ...*le aburren las memorias de los demás (y queda*  
 CL.DAT bore.3PL the memories of the rest and remains.3SG  
*aburrido por un rato).*  
 bored for a while  
 \*‘The memories of others bore him and he remains bored for a while.’

For Case (ii) the predicate does not pass the test for agentivity but it does for affectedness, and in these cases both dative and accusative case-marking are acceptable. For example, the predicates in (404) and (405) appear with dative case in the corpus and the predicates in (406) and (407) appear with accusative case in the corpus.

(404) ¡*Cuánto le avergonzó ahora el*  
 how.much CL.DAT shamed.3SG now the  
*deprimente recuerdo de aquella fuga desesperada a*  
 depressing memory of that escape desperate to  
*Roma!*  
 Rome  
 How much the depressing memory of that desperate escape to Rome  
 shamed him!

(405) *Al final de la clase principal, el maestro narra*  
 at.the end of the class principal the teacher narrates.3SG  
*todos los días una historia, un cuento o fragmento de*  
 every the days a story a story or fragment of  
*historias a los niños, quienes esperan con impaciencia,*  
 stories to the children who wait with impatience  
*ya que esta parte narrativa les fascina.*  
 already that this part narrative CL.DAT fascinate.3SG  
 ‘At the end of the main class, every day the teacher narrates a story, a short  
 tale or a fragment of stories to the children who impatiently wait since this  
 part fascinates them.’

- (406) *Muchas parejas deciden esterilizarse, cuando las*  
 many couples decide.3PL to.sterilize.REFL when the  
*obligaciones económicas las agobian.*  
 obligations economic CL.ACC overwhelm  
 ‘Many couples decide to sterilize themselves when their economic obligations overwhelm them and they are overwhelmed.’
- (407) *Mi gesto era tan amenazador que lo*  
 my gesture was.3SG so threatening that CL.ACC  
*asusté; corrió por la construcción.*  
 frightened.1SG ran.3SG through the construction  
 ‘My gesture was so threatening that I frightened him; he ran through the construction.’ (CdE)

On testing the predicates above, they encode no agentivity, since the subject is inanimate, but they do encode affectedness as seen in (408)-(411).

- (408) *¡Cuánto le avergonzó ahora el*  
 how.much CL.DAT shamed.3SG now the  
*deprimente recuerdo de aquella fuga desesperada a*  
 depressing memory of that escape desperate to  
*Roma! (y él quedó avergonzado por un rato).*  
 Rome and he remained.3SG shamed for a while  
 ‘How much the depressing memory of that desperate escape to Rome shamed him! And he remained ashamed for a while.’

- (409) *Al final de la clase principal, el maestro narra*  
 at.the end of the class principal the teacher narrates.3SG  
*todos los días una historia, un cuento o fragmento de*  
 every the days a story a story or fragment of  
*historias a los niños, quienes esperan con impaciencia,*  
 stories to the children who wait with impatience  
*ya que esta parte narrativa les fascina, (y*  
 already that this part narrative CL.DAT fascinate.3SG and  
*ellos quedan fascinados por un rato).*  
 they remain.3PL fascinated for a while  
 ‘At the end of the main class, every day the teacher narrates a story, a short tale or a fragment of stories to the children who impatiently wait since this part fascinates them, and they remain fascinated for a while.’
- (410) *Muchas parejas deciden esterilizarse, cuando las*  
 many couples decide.3PL to.sterilize.REFL when the  
*obligaciones económicas las agobian (y ellas*  
 obligations economic CL.ACC overwhelm and they  
*quedan agobiadas por unos años).*  
 remain.3SG overwhelmed for some years  
 ‘Many couples decide to sterilize themselves when their economic obligations overwhelm them and they remain overwhelmed for a few years.’
- (411) *Mi gesto era tan amenazador que lo*  
 my gesture was.3SG so threatening that CL.ACC  
*asusté; (y él quedó asustado por un*  
 frightened.1SG and he remained.3SG frightened for a  
*rato).*  
 while  
 ‘My gesture was so threatening that I frightened him; and he remained frightened.’

This means that a predicate that can be interpreted as having an affected experiencer and non-agentive subject can take both dative and accusative.

For Case (iii) the predicate passes the agentivity and affectedness tests, and in these cases the case-marking is exclusively accusative. For example, the predicates in (412)-(413) have accusative experiencers.

- (412) *Los novios de mi prima la agobiaron*  
 the boyfriends of my cousin CL.ACC harassed.3PL  
*telefónicamente desde toda la república.*  
 by.telephone since all the republic  
 ‘My cousin’s boyfriends overwhelmed/harassed her by telephone from all over the republic.’

- (413) *Rió comenzó a maldecir a su jefe pero Scalise*  
 Río began.3SG to curse to his boss but Scalise  
*lo tranquilizó.*  
 CL.ACC calmed.3SG  
 ‘Río began to curse his boss but Scalise calmed him down.’

All the predicates above pass the test for agentivity and affectedness as seen when tested in (414)-(417).

- (414) *Los novios de mi prima la agobiaron*  
 the boyfriends of my cousin CL.ACC harassed.3PL  
*telefónicamente (y ella quedó agoabiada por*  
 by.telephone and she remained.3SG harassed for  
*un rato).*  
 a while  
 ‘My cousin’s boyfriends harassed her by telephone and she remained harassed for a while.’


- (415) *Los novios de mi prima la agobiaron*  
 the boyfriends of my cousin CL.ACC harassed.3PL  
*telefónicamente a propósito desde toda la república.*  
 by.telephone at purpose since all the republic  
 ‘My cousin’s boyfriends deliberately harassed her by telephone from all over the republic.’

- (416) *Rió comenzó a maldecir a su jefe pero Scalise*  
*Rió began.3SG to curse to his boss but Scalise*  
*lo tranquilizó (y Rió quedó tranquilo*  
*CL.ACC calmed.3SG and Rió remained.3SG calm*  
*por un rato).*  
*for a while*  
 ‘Rió began to curse his boss but Scalise calmed him down and Rió remained calm for a while.’

- (417) *Scalise lo tranquilizó y lo hizo*  
*Scalise CL.ACC calmed.3SG and CL.ACC did.3SG*  
*esforzadamente.*  
*with difficulty*  
 ‘Scalise calmed him down and he did it with difficulty.’

To summarize, depending on the features present in the predicate, the dative or accusative case can be selected. If there is agentivity and affectedness, accusative case must be selected, and if there is only the feature of affectedness, either dative or accusative can be selected. In other words, if there is no affectedness, then dative case is the default case, but if there is affectedness, then it is agentivity that is the key factor in determining case. In a predicate that encodes affectedness of the object, if it also entails agentivity, then accusative case is selected, but if the predicate does not encode agentivity, then either case, the dative or accusative, could be selected. This suggests that any weakening of agentivity should result in the possibility of the dative case-marking. To confirm this look at the scale in (418) that ranges from participants that are interpreted as stronger agents to weaker agents. By strong agents I mean that the participants on the left of the scale are more likely to be interpreted as agents, given that they can act volitionally, and by weak agents I mean that the participants towards the right are less

likely to be interpreted as agents, given that they cannot act volitionally. Given our analysis, it is predicted that the use of the different participants in the same r-psych verb predicate will result in different case-marking depending on whether it has a stronger or weaker degree of agentivity. And as seen in (419)-(424), the prediction is borne out.

- (418) Stronger agent Weaker agent  

- |       |          |                         |
|-------|----------|-------------------------|
| María | el hacha | el peso de los libros   |
| María | the axe  | the weight of the books |
| ACC   | ACC/DAT  | DAT                     |
- (419) *María lo aturdió.*  
María CL.ACC stunned.3SG  
‘María stunned him.’
- (420) \**A Juan le aturdió María.*  
to Juan CL.DAT stunned.3SG María  
‘María stunned him.’
- (421) *El hacha lo aturdió.*  
the axe CL.ACC stunned.3SG  
‘The axe stunned him.’
- (422) *A Juan le aturdió el hacha.*  
to Juan CL.DAT stunned.3SG the axe  
‘The axe stunned him.’
- (423) \**El peso de los libros lo aturdió.*  
the weight of the books CL.ACC stunned.3SG  
‘The weight of the books stunned him.’
- (424) *A Juan le aturdió el peso de los libros.*  
to Juan CL.DAT stunned.3SG the weight of the books  
‘The weight of the books stunned him.’

Note here that this table is only illustrative and does not hold categorically given that various factors can influence the interpretation of a predicate. Still, the point is that in (419) and (420), assuming the subject *María* is interpreted as having a stronger degree of agentivity, i.e., it acts deliberately, (419) is acceptable and (420) is not. Similarly, in (421) and (422), the acceptability judgments shown are based on the interpretation of the subject *el hacha* ‘the axe’ as having a stronger and lower degree of agentivity respectively. That is, for example, in (421) the interpretation could be that there is an agent who is using the axe as an instrument, while in (422) the axe, stored on a shelf, fell from it accidentally. With the subject *el peso de los libros* ‘the weight of the books’ in (423) and (424), there is low or no agentivity entailed since the subject cannot act volitionally and thus, while (423) is not acceptable, (424) is acceptable. The concept of motion is also relevant here because *el hacha* ‘the axe’ when wielded by somebody is in motion while *el peso de los libros* ‘the weight of the books’ can never be in motion, thus giving *el hacha* ‘the axe’ more agency than *el peso de los libros* ‘the weight of the books’. Since there are various factors that contribute to the interpretation of sentences, this scale is not unconditional. Nonetheless, it serves to support the argument that when a subject is interpreted as having higher degrees of agentivity it is more likely that the experiencer is case-marked accusative and with the interpretation of a subject as having lower degrees of agentivity, the tendency is for the experiencer to be case-marked dative.

I have shown in the previous chapter and this one that of the ten components of transitivity posited by Hopper and Thompson (1980) in their Transitivity Hypothesis, the components that are key to determining case-marking in r-psych verbs are agentivity

(which includes action and volitionality) and affectedness. R-psych verb predicates that have accusative experiencers encode affectedness and may also entail agentivity, and are thus highly transitive verbs. A lack of the feature of agentivity results in dative case-marking, even if the object may be affected. Thus, the use of the dative correlates to a reduced transitivity, and the use of the accusative correlates to an increased transitivity.

Based on the observations made from the data, I propose that r-psych verb predicates that are highly transitive are in fact similar to causative verbs, such as *romper* ‘to break’, *destruir* ‘to destroy’, *abrir* ‘to open’, etc. Causative verb predicates are highly transitive since they are two participant verbs — one of which is an agentive participant and the other an affected and highly individuated participant —, and they entail action, are usually telic, and are usually punctual (Hopper & Thompson 1980). They encode affectedness and can also have agentivity (though not necessarily), as seen in (425), just like r-psych verb predicates with accusative case-marking.

- (425) *María deliberadamente lo rompió (y*  
*María deliberately CL.ACC broke.3SG and*  
*quedó roto por un rato).*  
*remained.3SG broken for a while*  
 ‘María deliberately broke it and it remained broken.’

In fact even the canonical word order of causative verbs and r-psych verbs that have high transitivity is the same, with a pre-verbal subject, as shown in (426) and (427), where the subject is *María*.

- (426) nom arg + verb + acc arg  
*María destruyó el libro.*  
*María destroyed.3SG the book*  
 ‘María destroyed the book.’



- (427)    nom arg +    acc clitic +    verb  
           *María*            *lo*                    *destruyó.*  
           María            CL.ACC            destroyed.3SG  
           ‘María destroyed it.’

Another similarity between Class III r-psych verbs and causative verbs is that they both exhibit the causative-inchoative alternation. Montrul (1997) points out that in Spanish when the clitic *se* is added to a causative verb an inchoative verb is formed, as shown in (428). Note that this morphological process also applies to Class III r-psych verbs, as seen in (429).

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <p>(428)    <b>Causative verb</b><br/> <i>ampliar</i> ‘to widen/enlarge’<br/> <i>abrir</i> ‘to open’<br/> <i>cerrar</i> ‘to close’<br/> <i>derretir</i> ‘to melt’<br/> <i>romper</i> ‘to break’<br/> <i>enfriar</i> ‘to cool’<br/> <i>hundir</i> ‘to sink’<br/> <i>quemar</i> ‘to burn’</p>                           | <p><b>Inchoative form</b><br/> <i>ampliarse</i> ‘to widen/enlarge’<br/> <i>abrirse</i> ‘to open’<br/> <i>cerrarse</i> ‘to close’<br/> <i>derretirse</i> ‘to melt’<br/> <i>romperse</i> ‘to break’<br/> <i>enfriarse</i> ‘to cool’<br/> <i>hundirse</i> ‘to sink’<br/> <i>quemarse</i> ‘to burn’</p>  |
| <p>(429)    <b>R-psych verb</b><br/> <i>alegrar</i> ‘to make happy’<br/> <i>asustar</i> ‘to scare’<br/> <i>avergonzar</i> ‘to shame’<br/> <i>entristecer</i> ‘to sadden’<br/> <i>fastidiar</i> ‘to tire’<br/> <i>sorprender</i> ‘to surprise’<br/> <i>tranquilizar</i> ‘to calm’<br/> <i>molestar</i> ‘to bother’</p> | <p><b>Inchoative form</b><br/> <i>alegrarse</i> ‘to become happy’<br/> <i>asustarse</i> ‘to become scared’<br/> <i>avergonzarse</i> ‘to become ashamed’<br/> <i>entristecerse</i> ‘to become sad’<br/> <i>fastidiarse</i> ‘to become tired’<br/> <i>sorprenderse</i> ‘to become surprised’<br/> <i>tranquilizarse</i> ‘to become calm’<br/> <i>molestarse</i> ‘to become bothered’</p> |

In (430)-(432) are sentences with causative verbs, and in (433)-(435) are sentences with r-psych verbs that demonstrate the causative/inchoative alternation. We know the sentences with the *se* are inchoative given that they can be modified with *por sí solo* ‘by

itself”, which is a common test for inchoatives (Strozer 1976, Chierchia 2004, Koontz.Garboden 2009, Beavers & Zubair 2013; *inter alia*).

(430) Causative

*María rompió el vaso.*  
 María destroyed.3SG the glass  
 ‘María destroyed the book.’

Inchoative

*Se rompió el vaso (por sí solo).*  
 INCH broke.3SG the glass by SELF alone  
 ‘The glass broke (by itself).’

(431) Causative

*Juan abrió la ventana.*  
 Juan opened.3SG the window  
 ‘Juan opened the window.’

Inchoative

*Se abrió la ventana (por sí sola).*  
 INCH opened.3SG the window by SELF alone  
 ‘The photo enlarged (by itself).’

(432) Causative

*Luis enfrió la sopa.*  
 Luis cooled.3SG the soup  
 ‘Luis cooled the soup.’

Inchoative

*Se enfrió la sopa (por sí sola).*  
 INCH cooled.3SG the soup by SELF alone  
 ‘The soup cooled (by itself).’

- (433) *R-psych*  
*María lo alegró*  
 María CL.ACC made.happy.3SG  
 ‘María made him happy.’

*Inchoative*  
*Se alegró (por sí solo).*  
 INCH made.happy.3SG by SELF alone  
 ‘He became happy (by himself).’

- (434) *R-psych*  
*Esteban la animó.*  
 Esteban la encouraged.3SG  
 ‘Esteban encouraged her.’

*Inchoative*  
*Se animó (por sí sola).*  
 INCH encouraged.3SG by SELF alone  
 ‘She became encouraged (by herself).’

- (435) *R-psych*  
*Luis tranquilizó al perro.*  
 Luis calmed.3SG to-the dog  
 ‘Luis calmed the dog.’

*Inchoative*  
*Se tranquilizó el perro (por sí solo).*  
 INCH calmed.3SG the dog by SELF alone  
 ‘The dog calmed down (by itself).’

Additionally, causative verb predicates also require their subjects to be interpreted as having some degree of agency in order to be acceptable (Levin & Rappaport Hovav 2005). Thus, when the subject is a human and can act volitionally, such as *Marco* in (436), the sentences can be easily accepted, while when the subject is an instrument and cannot act volitionally but can be made to act by an agent, such as *el martillo* ‘the hammer’ in (437), or a natural force that cannot act volitionally nor can it be made to act,

such as *el viento* ‘the wind’ in (438) the sentences are acceptable, but require an accommodation for the interpretation as an agent.

- (436) *Marco rompió el coco.*  
 Marco broke.3SG the coconut  
 ‘Marco broke the coconut.’
- (437) *El martillo rompió el coco.*  
 the hammer broke.3SG the coconut  
 ‘The hammer broke the coconut.’
- (438) *El viento rompió el coco.*  
 the wind broke.3SG the coconut  
 ‘The wind broke the coconut.’

Class III r-psych verbs and causative verbs have all these properties in common and thus Class III r-psych verb predicates are causative. Causative verbs have affected objects. Since Class III r-psych verbs are causative, this is why they tend to be interpreted as having affected objects too and this is why there are few examples of Class III r-psych verbs with Case (i) predicates that have non-affected experiencers. This does not occur with Class II r-psych verbs since they are not causative. In fact, Class II r-psych verb (e.g. *gustar* ‘to like, *encantar* ‘to really like’, *apetecer* ‘to fancy’) predicates that only appear with dative experiencers do not have the same properties: they do not have the features of affectedness nor agentivity, shown above; they have a different word order which is the optional explicit experiencer followed by the dative clitic followed by the verb, as discussed in Chapter 1; and they do not exhibit the causative/inchoative alternation, as seen in (439)-(441).

- (439) *Class II R-psych verb*                      *\*Inchoative form*  
*agradar* ‘to please’                      *\*agradarse*  
*apetecer* ‘to fancy’                      *\*apetecerse*  
*gustar* ‘to like’                      *\*gustarse*  
*importar* ‘to matter’                      *\*importarse*  
*encantar* ‘to really like’                      *\*encantarse*  
*placer* ‘to sadden’                      *\*placerse*
- (440) *Class II R-psych verb*  
*A*    *Julia*    *le*                      *encantó*                      *la*    *película.*  
to    *Julia*    CL.DAT    really.liked.3SG    the    movie  
‘Julia really liked the movie.’
- Inchoative*  
*Se*                      *encantó*                      *Julia*    (*por*    *sí*                      *sola*).  
INCH    really liked.3SG    *Julia*    by    SELF    alone  
\*‘Julia became really liked (by herself).’
- (441) *Class II R-psych verb*  
*A*    *Olga*    *le*                      *gusta*                      *Marina.*  
to    *Olga*    CL.DAT    likes.3SG                      *Marina*  
‘Olga likes Marina.’
- Inchoative*  
*Se*                      *gustó*                      *Olga*    (*por*    *sí*                      *sola*).  
INCH    liked.3SG    *Olga*    by    SELF    alone  
\*‘Olga became liked by herself’

All in all, Class II r-psych verbs are not causative while Class III r-psych verbs are causative. There are some differences though between Class III r-psych verbs and causative verbs. For example, the kind of affectedness entailed of the object of Class III r-psych verbs and causative verbs is dissimilar. For causative verb predicates, Beavers (2011) proposes the Affectedness Hierarchy to accommodate the various degrees of affectedness as a hierarchy of monotonically weakening truth conditions. Beavers first runs a battery of diagnostics for affectedness such as whether the predicate is telic, the

contradiction test ‘ $\phi$ , but not  $\psi$ ’, the result XP test (e.g., *John painted the barn red/ John carved the wood into a toy/ John pounded the metal flat*), ‘What happened to X is Y’ (from Cruse 1973), whether the predicate is dynamic, and the types of result XPs (e.g., *John shattered the vase into a million/ thirty-six different pieces/ John wiped his face dry/ clean/ off/ raw/ to a healthy glow*.). Based on the results of these tests he observes the pattern that predicates that pass  $n$  tests are a subset of those that pass  $n-1$  tests as shown in (442).

(442)

Diagnostics	Degrees of affectedness of $x$ entailed by $\phi$			
	Quantized	Non-quantized	Potential	Unspecified
$\phi$ is telic	√	X	X	X
Change entailed of $x$	√	√	X	X
$x$ takes result XP	√	√	√ / X	X
<i>Happened/did to <math>x</math></i>	√	√	√	X
$\phi$ is dynamic	√	√	√	√ / X
Result XP variation	Low	Low/High	High	N/A

(Beavers (2011), 63, p.359)

Predicates that entail quantized affectedness pass all the tests, while predicates that entail non-quantized affectedness pass all but the telicity test, etc. Based on the patterns he observes, Beavers formulates The Affectedness Hierarchy given in (443).

(443) The Affectedness Hierarchy for all  $x, \phi, e$ ,  
 $\exists s [ \text{result}'(x, s, g_{\phi}, e) ] \rightarrow \exists s \exists g [ \text{result}'(x, s, g, e) ] \rightarrow \exists s \exists \theta [ \theta(x, s, e) ] \rightarrow \exists \theta' [ \theta'(x, e) ]$   
 (quantized) (non-quantized) (potential) (unspecified)  
 (Beavers (2011), 62, p.359)

The hierarchy in (443) is implicational, if a verb entails quantized change then it also entails non-quantized, potential, and unspecified change, while if a verb entails potential for change then it would also entail being unspecified for change, but it would not entail non-quantized or quantized change. In (444) are some examples of verbs that entail different degrees of affectedness.

- (444) *x undergoes a:*
- a. quantized change – e.g., accomplishments, achievements: *break, shatter, destroy, devour*
  - b. non-quantized change – e.g., degree achievements: *widen, cool, lengthen, cut, slice*
  - c. potential for change - e.g., surface contact/ impact: *scrub, rub, punch, hit, wipe, kick, slap*
  - d. unspecified change – e.g., other activities-states: *see, laugh at, smell, follow, ponder, ogle*
- (adapted from Beavers (2011), 60, p.358)

Beavers' implicational hierarchy also applies to Spanish. There are verbs that entail quantized change (e.g., *romper* 'to break', *destruir* 'to destroy'), others that entail non-quantized change (e.g., *cortar* 'to cut', *calentar* 'to heat'), some that entail potential change (e.g., *limpiar* 'to clean', *pegar* 'to hit'), and still others that entail unspecified change (e.g., *mirar* 'to watch', *oler* 'to smell'). On comparing affectedness entailed in causative verbs and Class III r-psych verbs, it is quite apparent that the kind of affectedness entailed in Class III r-psych verbs is not the same as that entailed by causative verbs such as *romper* 'to break' and *destruir* 'to destroy'. The change of state entailed by the latter seems to have a more permanent and physical nature. In fact, the change of state that occurs in an object with verbs such as *romper* 'to break', and *destruir* 'to destroy' can only be reversed with another separate (and always intentional) instance

of action, for example as described by *reparar* ‘to repair’, or *arreglar* ‘to fix’, etc. With r-psych verbs the change of state is mental and temporary in nature and just a removal of the stimulus could reverse the change instantly. The same object could even undergo the change multiple times, which is less likely with a verb such as *romper* ‘to break’. Perhaps the change of state is more similar to what verbs like *calentar* ‘to heat’, *enfriar* ‘to cool’, etc. entail, since they are reversible. Perhaps not, given that there is no natural endpoint for the change in the object of verbs like *calentar* ‘to heat’, *enfriar* ‘to cool’, etc., while there is a natural endpoint for r-psych verbs. This topic requires further investigation, thus, I leave this discussion aside for a future paper.

## 5.2 TRANSITIVITY: THE BIG PICTURE

Thus far I have shown that of all the ten components of transitivity that Hopper & Thompson (1980) posit, the three relevant components that influence case-marking in r-psych verbs are agentivity (includes action), volitionality (subsumed under the definition for agentivity), and affectedness of the object. I defined and presented tests for these three components. The analysis supported the hypotheses and strongly suggests that r-psych verbs that can only mark with dative case, that is Class II r-psych verbs (e.g., *gustar* ‘to like’, *encantar* ‘to really like’, or *apetecer* ‘to fancy’) are incompatible with these components, and r-psych verbs that can mark both with dative and accusative case, that is Class III r-psych verbs (e.g. *molestar* ‘to bother’, *sorprender* ‘to surprise’, or *asustar* ‘to frighten’) are compatible with these components. The accusative case-marking occurring in r-psych verb predicates is specified for affectedness and is unspecified for agentivity,



albeit showing a preference for it. The dative case-marking occurring in r-psych verb predicates lacks agentivity and is unspecified for affectedness.

Looking at the broader picture of transitivity, Hopper & Thompson (1980) posited the Transitivity Hypothesis given in (445).

- (445) If two clauses (a) and (b) in a language differ in that (a) is higher in Transitivity according to any of the features 1A-J, then, if a concomitant grammatical or semantic difference appears elsewhere in the clause, that difference will also show (a) to be higher in Transitivity.  
(Hopper & Thompson 1980, 9, p.255)

The Transitivity Hypothesis states that if there are two clauses that differ in that one clause has a transitivity feature that varies in one way, then the other varying features will also vary in the same way. In other words, if one clause encodes a high transitivity component and another clause encodes a low transitivity component, then other components encoded by these clauses will tend to also be high or low in transitivity respectively. For example, consider the sentences in (446) and (447).

- (446) *Marco rompió el coco.*  
Marco broke.3SG the coconut  
'Marco broke the coconut.'

- (447) *Iera sabe euskera.*  
Iera knows.3SG Euskera  
'Iera knows Euskera.'

The sentence in (446) has the property of action, it is telic, it is punctual, and it is realis, all of which are features in the high column. The sentence in (447) has the property of non-action, it is non-punctual, and it is realis. Except for realis, all the other features are in the low column. Thus, the Transitivity Hypothesis predicts that for the sentences in

(446) and (447), if they encode other features, these features will co-vary in the same direction, and thus for sentence (446) they will be from the high column, and for sentence (447) they will be from the low column.

Tsunoda (1981, 1985) highlighted the importance of ranking the components of transitivity in terms of their relevance to morphosyntactic correlates in order to be able to test them. For example, he shows that the transitive case frames, the ERG-ABS (ergative-absolutive) and NOM-ACC (nominative-accusative), are highest in transitivity universally. So in Hindi the ERG-ABS case frame correlates to perfective, which is a high transitivity feature, while a different case, ABS-DAT (absolutive-dative) correlates with the imperfective, which is a low transitivity feature.

Based on Hopper & Thompson and Tsunoda's contribution, for Spanish r-psych verbs, I claim that the Transitivity Hypothesis rightly predicts the pattern demonstrated in the data, as seen in the table in (394), repeated here in (448).

(448)

	<b>Case (i)</b> no agentivity no affectedness	<b>Case (ii)</b> no agentivity affectedness	<b>Case (iii)</b> agentivity affectedness
DAT	✓	✓	✗
ACC	✗	✓	✓

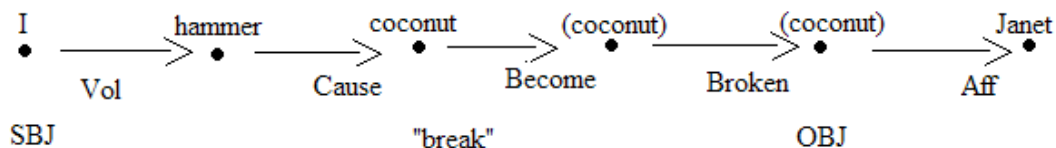
A clause that falls under Case (i) has three low transitive features, i.e., non-affectedness, lack of agentivity, and dative case, and no high transitive features. A clause that falls under Case (ii) has one high transitive feature, i.e., affectedness, and while no other transitivity features necessarily distinguish Case (i) from Case (ii), if one does vary then the feature that varies, case, is also high in Case (ii), i.e., accusative case is possible,

whereas in Case (i) only dative is. Thus a clause that falls under Case (ii) when compared to Case (i) involves an increase in the semantic features that correlates with other shifts from lower to higher transitivity. The same is reflected in the relation between Case (ii) and Case (iii). A clause that falls under Case (iii) has three high transitive features, i.e., affectedness, agentivity, and also accusative case. Case (ii) has one low transitivity feature, i.e., lack of agentivity, and while no other transitivity features necessarily distinguish Case (ii) from Case (iii), if one does vary than the feature that varies, case, is also low in Case (ii), i.e., dative case is possible, whereas in Case (iii) only accusative is. Thus a clause that falls under Case (ii) when compared to Case (iii) also involves a decrease in the semantic features that results in moving from higher to lower transitivity. To put it all another way, moving left to right in (394) the clause types increase monotonically in transitivity, as predicted by the Transitivity Hypothesis.

Given this correct prediction by the Transitivity Hypothesis, I propose that Class III r-psych verb predicates can be highly transitive and have features of agentivity and affectedness, and that Class III r-psych verbs are in fact causative verbs. Both Class III r-psych verb predicates and causative verb predicates can exhibit almost all the components of transitivity: they can have two participants, one of which is an agentive participant that can act volitionally and the other an affected participant; they may entail action; and they can be telic and punctual. In addition they also have the same word order and participate in the causative/inchoative alternation through the clitic *se*. Thus r-psych verbs that can have accusative case-marking can be considered and analyzed as highly transitive causative verbs.

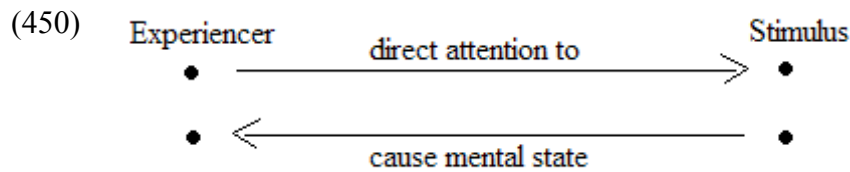
In fact, the observation that Class III r-psych verbs and causatives are similar is not new. Croft's (1993) analysis of psych verbs is based on a force-dynamic causal approach. In his framework events are modelled as causal chains, i.e., they consist of a series of segments and each segment relates two participants in the event. These segments of causal chains are represented by verbs. Thus, as illustrated in (449), for the verb *break* the causal chain consists of 'a person acting volitionally on an instrument, the hammer, which in turn acts physically on the coconut, which then undergoes a (physical) change of state that affects the mental state of the benefactive participant Janet.' (Croft 1993: 59)

(449) I broke the coconut for Janet with a hammer.



(Croft 1993, 17, p.59)

The causal chain delineates a clear model of the event structure of a given verb and the relationships between individuals in the event. For example, the agent is the 'initiator' of the event, the instrument is the entity that is intermediate in the causal chain between the agent and the patient, the patient is the final affected entity, etc. In Croft's analysis of psych verbs, he points out two distinct interactions between the stimulus and the experiencer. Croft suggests a structure as shown in (450) where either the experience directs his attention to the stimulus or the stimulus in some way causes the experiencer's mental state to be altered.



(Croft 1993, 17, p.59)

Applying the structure above to Spanish r-psych verbs, it can be argued that Class I r-psych verbs such as *amar* ‘to love’ that take the experiencer as their nominative argument and the stimulus as their accusative argument are the ones where the experiencer’s attention is directed towards the stimulus. Class II and Class III r-psych verbs such as *gustar* ‘to like/please’ and *molestar* ‘to bother’ that take the stimulus as the nominative argument and the experiencer as the object are the ones where the stimulus evokes a mental state in the experiencer.

Croft goes on to explain that an indirect object represents an impersonal form, where the degree of control over the mental relation is more decreased as compared to when the argument is realized as a direct object. Generalizing, Croft believes that those arguments that best contribute to the individuateness of the event are chosen as subject and object, and these are the arguments that delimit the beginning and end of the causal chain. The indirect objects represent a lowering of the degree of effect of the action on the argument.

My findings are in line with Croft’s proposal because the concept of indirect object and direct object for r-psych verbs relate to the dative and accusative case-marked experiencers, respectively. Croft’s prediction is borne out in our analysis of the corpus data. A lowering of the degree of effect of the action on the argument, in other words,

non-affectedness results in a dative case-marked experiencer, and when the degree of control over the mental relation is decreased, that is there is more agentivity and more affectedness, then it results in an accusative case-marked experiencer.

### **5.3 COMPARISON TO PREVIOUS APPROACHES**

Previous literature on case-marking in Spanish r-psych verbs focused on eventuality and affectedness, that is, the correlation between case-marking and eventuality and affectedness. Parodi & Luján (2000) proposed that there exists a strict binary correlation between states and non-affectedness and dative case-marked experiencers, and events and affectedness and accusative case-marked experiencers. Ackerman & Moore (2001) claimed the strict binary correlation existed between change of state and accusative case, and no change of state and dative case. Nevertheless, these proposals do not account for data from the corpus that show more variation. Vanhoe (2002) proposes a more detailed aspectual analysis of five classes of psych verbs but his work completely sets aside case-marking. His major contribution is the use of corpus data to support his analysis, something that had not been done previously. Cuervo's (2003) work, while not directly discussing r-psych verbs, makes tangential observations on the structure of r-psych verb predicates that case mark dative. These previous works have made valuable contributions to generally understanding the properties exhibited by r-psych verbs, but eventuality in particular is not sufficient to account for accusative/dative case-marking in them.

Taking all the previous observations as a starting point, the analysis developed here is more detailed given that it specifically identifies and discusses two components of

transitivity — agentivity and affectedness. The idea of looking at these three components comes from previous research conducted on English r-psych verbs. Di Desidero (1993, 1999) and Arad (1998) both strongly claim that English r-psych verbs are highly sensitive to agentivity and volition, and can be classified based on these factors. For Spanish, Vázquez Rozas (2006, 2012) has emphasized the importance of the components of transitivity proposed by Hopper & Thompson (1980) in the *le-lo* alternation in Spanish r-psych verbs. Vázquez Rozas does not focus on any specific components but shows that in general accusative case is selected when the predicates are higher in transitivity. Miglio *et al* (2013) followed up with a statistical frequency study with corpus data and examines the correlation between several factors (animacy, syntactic shape of the stimulus, verb tense and mood, regional differences, genres, and random effect for authors and verbs) and the case-marking on the experiencer in Spanish r-psych verbs. Miglio *et al* find that animacy is a strong predictor of case-marking, that is, when the stimulus is animate it is more likely that the accusative case is selected for the experiencer argument and when the stimulus is inanimate an oblique experiencer, with dative case-marking, is more likely. While animacy is an overtly testable proxy to agentivity it is not sufficient to account for case-marking in r-psych verbs. R-psych verb predicates can have inanimate stimuli and accusative case experiencers. To show this, I repeat examples (215) and (216), from Chapter 3, Section 3.2.2.2 in (451)-(452). As demonstrated in this dissertation, it is agentivity (defined as action and or volition) and affectedness that are the relevant factors to account for case-marking.

(451) *Fue ésta, creo yo la novedad que lo*  
 was.3SG this believe.1SG I the novelty that CL.ACC  
*desconcertó.*  
 disconcerted.3SG  
 ‘It was this, I think, the novelty that disconcerted him.’ (CREA)

(452) *A las tres de la tarde, el trueno lo*  
 At the three of the evening the thunder CL.ACC  
*asustó.*  
 scared.3SG  
 ‘At three in the afternoon, thunder scared him.’ (Vanhoe 2002, 122, p. 173)

All of the previous research has served as a base for this dissertation. Parodi & Luján (2000) and Ackerman and Moore (2001) identify eventuality and affectedness as important factors in case-marking in r-psych verbs, Vanhoe (2003) uses corpus data to look into eventuality, Cuervo (2003) makes oblique yet keen observations on r-psych verbs and causative verbs, Di Desidero (1993, 1999) and Arad (1998) highlight agentivity and volitionality, Grafmiller (2013) emphasizes the role of discourse context, and Vázquez Rozas (2006, 2012) and Miglio (2013) enrich the discussion with quantitative variation studies. Taking all of this research as a base, the objective of the study conducted in this dissertation was to determine the principles of the correlation between transitivity and case-marking in Spanish r-psych verbs. The analysis here complements the previous quantitative work carried out with a qualitative analysis of case-marking. This study also complements previous work given the mixed methods used and the use of corpus data from a specific region with no attested *leísmo* phenomenon. Working with corpus data has many advantages. Intuitions on language cannot always be relied on and corpus data reveals real usage of language as it appears in natural contexts and with little



interference from the researcher. It may uncover new assumptions and may also dispel myths or biases about language use. Corpus data also comes with rich context that exposes many other factors that come into play in language use and variation. In this dissertation, corpus data is specifically utilized to expound on previous theories and also to formulate a proposal that outlines the interactions between the components of transitivity and case-marking in r-psych verbs. The proposal also makes correct predictions that are in line with the Transitivity Hypothesis. Other than the work with corpus data, judgments from native speaker informants were able to confirm the findings from the corpora and also provided rich examples that were not to be found in the corpora but are possible in natural language. This mixed-methodology is valuable since one method complements the drawbacks of the other and vice versa. The contribution to this area of research also lies in the empirical linguistic definitions and diagnostics that are provided to support the linguistic intuitions presented in previous research. Using the corpus data and the linguistic definitions and diagnostics, the claim that case-marking in Spanish r-psych verbs is in fact influenced by two components of transitivity — agentivity and affectedness of the object — has been supported. Additionally, the analysis presented here examines finer grained details of the role of these two components of transitivity in case-marking in Spanish r-psych verbs. Furthermore, the analysis supports the idea that there exists a strong connection between r-psych verbs and causative verbs, and these associations are also in line with cross-linguistic work and other theoretical work on causation.

## 5.4 CONCLUSION

In this chapter I have summarized the findings on the correlation between agentivity and affectedness, and case-marking in Spanish r-psych verbs. I demonstrated that the dative case-marking is unspecified for affectedness and lacks agentivity, and accusative case-marking is specified for affectedness and unspecified for agentivity. I also claimed and supported my claim that Spanish r-psych verbs when marking accusative case are in fact causative verbs. I discuss the relevance of my research to literature on transitivity, specifically demonstrating that my findings support the predictions made by the Transitivity Hypothesis. Additionally, my findings also substantiate that there is a link between Class III r-psych verbs and causative verbs. Overall, unlike previous proposals, the analysis and claims made in this chapter can account for the variation found in the corpus data.

## Chapter 6: Conclusion

In this dissertation I have examined and accounted for accusative/dative case-marking in Spanish r-psych verbs through the use of corpus data and native speaker judgments. Working off of previous analyses, I first disputed the claims that there is a strong binary correlation between case-marking and eventuality in Spanish r-psych verbs. I corroborated this with corpus data that clearly indicated that there is a correlation between stative predicates and dative case-marking, but no such correlation exists between eventive predicates and accusative case-marking; eventive predicates can have accusative or dative experiencers. I argued that two components of transitivity — agentivity and affectedness of object — are what determine case-marking in Spanish r-psych verbs. Based on my findings from the corpus data and native speaker judgments, I proposed that accusative case-marking in r-psych verbs carries an entailment of affectedness and is unspecified for agentivity, while dative case-marking entails a weakening or lack of agentivity and is unspecified for affectedness. I also reasoned that r-psych verbs that have an accusative experiencer share many properties with highly transitive causative verbs. I also discussed how my approach builds on previous proposals and is an improvement given that it accounts for case-marking in r-psych verbs and the implications of my research are linked to theoretical work on transitivity and causation.

In this Chapter I discuss some areas of future research. In this dissertation the issue of how to represent Spanish r-psych verbs in the lexicon was discussed very briefly

in Chapter 1 and was then put aside. Given the findings of this dissertation, a lexical entry for Spanish r-psych verbs needs to be based on transitivity and causation. As with all other dissertations, some other issues surfaced but have not been addressed, such as a more detailed study on word order of Spanish r-psych verbs and their correlation to information structure and information articulations, the lack of case-marking due to the *leísmo* phenomenon in Peninsular Spanish, and therefore the issue of whether Spanish r-psych verbs in Peninsular Spanish encode agentivity and affectedness through other means.

Another area for future research, and one area in which my analysis may be extended, is accusative/dative case-marking in other Spanish constructions such as the causative *hacer* constructions. In the causative *hacer* construction in Spanish the causee may realize as the accusative or the dative clitic, as shown in (453).

- (453) *Miriam les/los hizo cantar.*  
 Miriam CL.DAT/ACC made.3SG to.sing  
 ‘Miriam made them sing.’

Historically there are two major approaches posited to account for case-selection in causative constructions in general, the Transitivity Hypothesis (Aissen and Perlmutter 1976, Rosen 1990), and the alternative Semantic Approach (Shibatani 1975, Ackerman and Moore 1999). Shibatani (1975), for instance, discusses a similar case in Japanese, as shown in (454) and (455).<sup>59 & 60</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> For semantic analyses for other languages see the following: for Japanese, Korean and Quechua see Shibatani (1975); for French, Hyman and Zimmer (1976), Reed (1992); Chichewa, Alsina (1992), Strozer (1976); for Spanish, Strozer (1976), Ackerman and Moore (1999), Beavers (2006); *inter alia*).

- (454) *Tarooga Ziroo o ik-ase-ta.*  
 Taro.NOM Ziro ACC go-CAUS-PAST  
 ‘Taro caused Jiro to go.’
- (455) *Tarooga Ziroo ni ik-ase-ta.*  
 Taro.NOM Ziro DAT go-CAUS-PAST  
 ‘Taro caused Jiro to go.’ (Shibatani 1975, 18a and 18b,  
 p.333)

Shibatani claims that the selection of the morpheme *o* (patient marker, accusative) indicates that the causation is direct and more coercive, that is, the causee is not volitionally doing the action, as shown in (454). The selection of the morpheme *ni* (agentive marker, dative) indicates that the causation is indirect and less coercive, that is, the causee is willingly doing the action, as shown in (455). In other words, Shibatani proposes a semantic approach and relates the selection of the two different case morphemes, *o* and *ni*, to direct or indirect causation respectively. He postulates that the Japanese causative morpheme *sase-* can select the morphemes *o* (patient marker, accusative) or *ni* (agentive marker, dat)<sup>61</sup> in different contexts based on semantic differences of causation and coercion. Shibatani defends his analysis by showing that if a sentence explicitly states indirect causation only the agentive marker *ni* can be used, and gives the examples in (456) and (457).

- (456) *Tarooga tegami de sizi o s-i-te Ziroo \*o Tokyo e ik-ase-ta.*  
 Taro letter by-instructing Jiro \*o Tokyo to-go  
 ‘Taro caused Jiro to go by instructing him (\*patientive) by a letter.’

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<sup>60</sup> Gloss is mine, the sentences and the translations are referenced.

<sup>61</sup> Patient marker and agent marker are terms used by Shibatani (1975).

- (457) *Tarooga tegami de sizi o s-i-te Ziroo ni Tokyo e ik-ase-ta.*  
 Taro letter by-instructing Jiro ni Tokyo to-go  
 ‘Taro caused Jiro to go by instructing him (\*agentive) by a letter.’

(Shibatani 1975, 20a and 20b, p.334 )

Shibatani, however, notes that the selection of accusative or dative is only possible if the embedded clause is intransitive. If the embedded clause is transitive then only the agentive (=dative) marker *ni* can be selected for the causee, as shown in (458) and (459).<sup>62</sup>

- (458) *Tarooga Ziro ni Itrioo o nagur-ase-ta.*  
 Taro.NOM Ziro DAT Ichiro ACC hit-CAUS-PAST  
 ‘Taro made/had Jiro hit Ichiro.’

- (459) *\*Tarooga Ziro o Itrioo o nagur-ase-ta.*  
 Taro.NOM Ziro ACC Ichiro ACC hit-CAUS-PAST  
 ‘Taro made/had Jiro hit Ichiro.’ (Shibatani 1975, 43 and 44, p.343 )

As proposed by Shibatani, Strozer (1976) notes that a semantic approach accounts for case-selection in causative *hacer* construction in Spanish. She demonstrates this with the examples in (460) and (461): when the embedded verb is intransitive and there is explicit coercion on the part of the agent, the accusative case is realized, as shown in (460); and when the embedded verb is intransitive and there is no coercion the dative case is realized, as shown in (461).<sup>63</sup>

- (460) *La/ ?Le hice entrar a patadas.*  
 CL.ACC CL.DAT made.1SG enter to kicks  
 ‘I made her (acc/?dat) enter with a kick.’

<sup>62</sup> Gloss is mine, the sentences and the translations are referenced.

<sup>63</sup> Gloss is mine, the sentences and the translations are referenced. Even though Strozer uses an interrogation mark (?) instead of an asterisk (\*), in her prose it is clear that the sentences are not acceptable. She does not explain her choice of an interrogation mark (?) over an asterisk (\*).

- (461) *Le pedi que entrara y después de que*  
 CL.DAT requested.1SG that enter.3SG and after of that  
*entrara, le expliqué por qué le*  
 entered.3SG CL.DAT explained.1SG for what CL.DAT  
*?la había hecho entrar.*  
 CL.ACC had.1SG done to.enter  
 ‘I asked her to enter, and after she entered, I explained why I had her  
 (dat/?acc) enter.’ (Strozer 1976, 6.88 and 6.89, p.88 and 89)

Strozer (1976) elaborates that the difference in selection of case in (460) and (461) is a semantic contrast of affectedness, that is, in (460) the causee is affected because she was forced to enter and in (461) the causee is less affected because she was not forced to enter. Ackerman & Moore (1999) also follow the same line of argument as Shibatani and Strozer and propose a similar semantic approach for Spanish. They argue for the semantic approach with the examples in (462) and (463), where the causee selects accusative case when it is coerced to carry out the action and the dative case when it volitionally does the action.<sup>64</sup>

- (462) *La/?Le hice probarlo a la fuerza.*  
 CL.ACC CL.DAT made.1SG try-CL.ACC to the force  
 ‘I made her (acc/?dat) try/taste it by force.’
- (463) *Le/?La hice probarlo diciéndole que*  
 CL.DAT CL.ACC made.1SG try-CL.ACC telling-CL.DAT that  
*era riquísimo.*  
 was.3SG delicious  
 ‘I had her (dat/?acc) try/taste it by telling her it was delicious.’  
 (Ackerman & Moore 1999, 6, p.6)

Beavers (2006), however, disagrees with Ackerman & Moore and argues that while the accusative case may indicate non-volition, the dative case does not necessarily indicate

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<sup>64</sup> Gloss is mine, the sentences and the translations are referenced. Ackerman & Moore (1999) got these examples from Strozer (1976) who uses an interrogation mark (?) instead of an asterisk (\*). Neither Strozer (1976) nor Ackerman & Moore (1999) explain the choice of an interrogation mark (?) over an asterisk (\*).

volition, that is, the dative could receive either the interpretation of volition or non-volition. In order to substantiate his point he gives the example in (464) where the dative allows the volitional reading, without *a la fuerza* ‘by force’, and the non-volitional reading, including *a la fuerza* ‘by force’.

- (464) *Los bandidos violentos le hicieron probar*  
the bandits violent 3SG.DAT made.3PL try/taste.INF  
*su propia sangre (a la fuerza).*  
3SG.POSS own blood (by force)  
‘The violent bandits had her (dat) taste her own blood by force.’  
(Beavers 2006, 25, p.233)

In summary, the Semantic Approach identifies semantic properties of volitionality, agentivity, or coercion of the causee argument as influencing factors for case-marking in the causative *hacer* construction. However, there is disagreement here and more research needs to be carried out in order to determine the precise semantic generalizations.

Some other areas for future work are to study, on the one hand, the dialectal variations within Mexico and, on the other hand, the other varieties of Spanish from Latin America. The dissertation also only takes into consideration written data from corpora and in the future this research could be expanded to include spoken data. My analysis of case-marking in r-psych verbs could provide insight into the case-marking principles in the causative *hacer* construction.



## Appendix A: Class II & Class III Spanish R-psych Verbs

### Class II Spanish R-psych verbs

<i>agradar</i>	to please
<i>apetecer</i>	to fancy
<i>atañer</i>	to concern
<i>concernir</i>	to concern
<i>convenir</i>	to be convenient
<i>desagradar</i>	to displease
<i>gustar</i>	to like
<i>importar</i>	to matter
<i>incumbir</i>	to concern
<i>interesar</i>	to interest
<i>placer</i>	to please
<i>repugnar</i>	to disgust

### Class III Spanish R-psych verbs

<i>abrumar</i>	to overwhelm	<i>divertir</i>	to amuse
<i>aburrir</i>	to bore	<i>emocionar</i>	to move/be touching
<i>alegrar</i>	to make happy	<i>entristecer</i>	to sadden
<i>angustiar</i>	to distress	<i>entusiasmar</i>	to encourage
<i>apasionar</i>	to make passionate	<i>espantar</i>	to scare
<i>apenar</i>	to sadden	<i>estorbar</i>	to bother
<i>asombrar</i>	to amaze	<i>exasperar</i>	to exasperate
<i>asustar</i>	to frighten	<i>fascinar</i>	to fascinate
<i>atemorizar</i>	to frighten	<i>fastidiar</i>	to annoy
<i>aterrar</i>	to terrify	<i>impresionar</i>	to impress
<i>aterrorizar</i>	to terrorize	<i>incomodar</i>	to inconvenience
<i>atormentar</i>	to torment	<i>inquietas</i>	to unsettle
<i>avergonzar</i>	to shame	<i>intranquiizar</i>	to worry
<i>cansar</i>	to tire	<i>irritar</i>	to irritate
<i>complacer</i>	to please	<i>molestar</i>	to bother
<i>decepcionar</i>	to disappoint	<i>ofender</i>	to offend
<i>deanimar</i>	to discourage	<i>pasmar</i>	to astonish
<i>desconsolar</i>	to distress	<i>preocupar</i>	to worry
<i>desesperar</i>	to exasperate	<i>sorprender</i>	to surprise
<i>disgustar</i>	to disgust	<i>tranquilizar</i>	to calm down

## Appendix B: Classification of Psych Verbs

		Spanish	French	Italian	English
SubjExp	Nominative Experience	e.g., <i>amar</i> 'to love', <i>odiar</i> 'to hate'	e.g., <i>adorer</i> 'to adore'	e.g., <i>temere</i> 'to fear'	e.g., <i>fear</i> , <i>love</i> , <i>hate</i>
ObjExp	Accusative Experiencer	x	e.g., <i>amuser</i> 'to amuse'	e.g., <i>preoccupare</i> 'to worry'	e.g., <i>amuse</i> , <i>please</i> , <i>bother</i>
	Dative Experiencer	e.g., <i>gustar</i> 'to like/please', <i>encantar</i> 'to really like', <i>apetecer</i> 'to fancy'	e.g., <i>plaisir</i> 'to please'	e.g., <i>piacere</i> 'to please'	e.g., <i>appeal to</i> , <i>matter to</i>
	Dative/Accusative Experiencer	e.g., <i>molestar</i> 'to bother', <i>sorprender</i> 'to surprise', <i>asustar</i> 'to frighten'	x	x	x

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